541
561
575
625

Blackfoot NF6

[For information on the men's societies and their activities, see all of the above categories.]

625 The I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi (All Comrades) were directly under
575 the authority of the head chief, and when any one was
[622] to be punished, or anything else was to be done which
came within their province as the tribal police, it was he
674 who issued the orders. The following were the crimes
which the Blackfeet considered sufficiently serious to merit
punishment, and the penalties which attached to them.

682 Murder: A life for a life, or a heavy payment by the
[425] murderer or his relatives at the option of the murdered
man's relatives. This payment was often so heavy as absolutely to strip the murderer of all property.

685 Theft: Simply the restoration of the property.

Adultery: For the first offence the husband generally cut
684 off the offending wife's nose or ears; for the second offence
[625] she was killed by the All Comrades. Often the woman, if
[575] her husband complained of her, would be killed by her
brothers or first cousins, and this was more usual than death
at the hands of the All Comrades. However, the husband
could have her put to death for the first offence, if he chose.

687 Treachery (that is, when a member of the tribe went over to the enemy or gave them any aid whatever): Death at sight.

Cowardice: A man who would not fight was obliged to wear woman's dress, and was not allowed to marry.

[625] If a man left camp to hunt buffalo by himself, thereby
[575] driving away the game, the All Comrades were sent after
him, and not only brought him back by main force, but often whipped him, tore his lodge to shreds, broke his travois, and often took away his store of dried meat, pemmican, and other food.

575 The tradition of the origin of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* has else-
625 where been given. This association of the All Comrades
[561] consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benevolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society

at large. All these societies were really law and order asso- 575
ciations. The Mŭt'-sĭks, or Braves, was the chief society, but 625
the others helped the Braves.

A number of the societies which made up the *I-kun-uh'-* 575
*kah-tsi* have been abandoned in recent years, but several of
them still exist. Among the Pi-kun'-i, the list — so far as I 561
have it — is as follows, the societies being named in order [178]
from those of boyhood to old age : —

### Societies of the All Comrades

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Tsĭ-stĭks'*, | Little Birds, | includes boys from 15 to 20 years old. |
| *Kŭk-kūiks'*, | Pigeons, | men who have been to war several times. |
| *Tŭis-kĭs'-tĭks*, | Mosquitoes, | men who are constantly going to war. |
| *Mŭt'-sĭks*, | Braves, | tried warriors. |
| *Knăts-o-mi'-ta*, | All Crazy Dogs, | about forty years old. |
| *Ma-stoh'-pa-ta-kĭks* | Raven Bearers. | |
| *E'-mi-taks*, | Dogs, | old men. Dogs and Tails are different societies, but they dress alike and dance together and alike. |
| *Is'-sui*, | Tails, | |
| *Ĕts-kāī'-nah*, | Horns, Bloods, | obsolete among the Piegans, but still exists with Bloods. [178] |
| *Sĭn'-o-pah*, | Kit-foxes, Piegans, | |
| *Ĕ-ĭn'-a-ke*, | Catchers or Soldiers, | obsolete for 25 or 30 years, perhaps longer. |
| *Stŭ'miks*, | Bulls, | obsolete for 50 years. |

There may be other societies of the All Comrades, but these 575
are the only ones that I know of at present. The Mŭt'-sĭks, 178
Braves, and the Knats-o-mi'-ta, All Crazy Dogs, still exist, but many of the others are being forgotten. Since the necessity for their existence has passed, they are no longer kept up. They were a part of the old wild life, and when the buffalo disappeared, and the Blackfeet came to live about an agency, and to try to work for a subsistence, the societies soon lost their importance.

186 Siksika and the Kainah—who often came to the aid of the Piegan in times of conflict.

621 [602] While kin ties were basic to band formation, friendship and self-interest played a part as well, and people changed bands when they felt it advantageous to do so. Ewers believes that this shifting band allegiance had developed with the inequal distribution of wealth that followed the acquisition of the horse. Poor people became more dependent upon the generosity of the wealthy few and attached themselves to the bands of those men who could best provide for them.

Band membership then was based first of all upon kin ties, but with no absolute rule of descent. Wives usually joined the band of their husbands and children belonged to that of their father, but it was not unusual for a man to join his wife's group. A widow could choose to remain in her husband's band or to return to that of her parents. A man could change band affiliation "even in middle life . . ." (Wissler 1911:19). Other persons attached themselves to the band for various reasons, and long residence with a band, and acceptance by its members, was tantamount to band membership.

619 [621] The tribe was a larger association of individual bands whose members recognized common ties of language, kinship and culture. It was an organized unit only during the few weeks of the summer hunt, and tribal discipline operated only at this time. Even here the bands retained their spatial and functional autonomy; each band had it habitual place in the camp circle and continued to operate as an economic and political unit with only a part of its powers surrendered to the tribal organization.

575 Like other Plains Indians, the Piegan had a series of men's organizations, or societies, of which there were three basic types: age-graded warrior societies, religious societies and cults, and the less formal dance association.

701 ● 561 The named warrior societies (Mosquitoes, Pigeons, Braves, All-Crazy Dogs, etc.) were corporate groups, that is, they continued over time, surviving the individual members. Groups of young men of a similar age sometimes started a new society, or, more usually, got together and bought memberships in an ongoing society. Similarly the old members would in turn buy into the next age-rank. The transfer was between individuals and such purchases could occur at any time. It was customary, however, for several men to transfer at the same time. Periodic transfers of this kind made possible a progressive movement of membership from a lower to a higher ranking society as men grew older. The oldest society might continue as its ranks were renewed from below, or eventually die out as its members passed away.

These were the groups granted policing powers at the summer encampment. In addition they served to promote the military spirit of the members through war games and intersociety competition in races, dancing and games.

744 The medicine men's societies and related cults were less formally organized gatherings of men who owned important medicine bundles and powers. These men conferred together to aid in the organization and presentation of the Sun 535 Dance and to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the tribe. The dance organizations were social clubs made up of young men who organized for the purpose of staging social dances during the time of the summer encampment.

Because of their Indian-orientation, however, they must curb their eco- 554
nomic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very capabilities that make
them valuable leaders within their group subject them to constant surveillance and 556
criticism. In addition, their youth is held against them. In the past, status through 554
wisdom came with age and in the eyes of many of their people they are wise
too soon. So these men cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and [561]
helpful, and build a following that will attest to their wisdom, skill, and generosity
in future years.

It is possible that in later life these men might take over the positions of custodians of tradition as these become vacated by the present chiefs, but this is doubtful, even though some people occasionally refer to them as "young chiefs." The tentative prediction would be that high status positions of both types will be filled from below where the factors of relative education and experience tend to produce differential experience within the Indian-oriented society. People of lower status already give indications as to how these positions will be filled.

The interpreters also differ from the chiefs, and many other Indian-oriented 554
people as well, in the furnishing and maintenance of their homes. Most of the
chiefs live in small frame or log houses with minimal services and simple furni- 362
ture. They rarely have appliances—a wood range serves for both cooking and [342]
heating. The structures are unpainted inside and out and no attempt has been made 354
to fence or otherwise mark the house lot or "territory." The interpreters, on the
other hand, seem to have accepted more of the white-oriented interest in things. [353]
As a class, they live in larger three- or five-room houses which are painted on the [351]
inside at least. They build closets, have more furniture, own refrigerators, radios, [177]
and television sets. Often there is a fenced area around the house or some other
border defining feature. The interpreters' homes look like those of many middle [342]
status white-oriented families—larger and better furnished than that of Bob Sorrel [352]
Horse, but not as freshly painted and filled with things as was Ray Hawkins' home. [351]
Here again is a sign that the interpreters aim for the best of two worlds.

**INDIAN-ORIENTED LOW STATUS** Low status Indian-oriented people can 554
be described by characteristics quite similar to those of the same status in white-
oriented society. These people are poor. Some are hard workers and others improvi- 735
dent, but lack of training limits these men to irregular wage labor. They do not [464]
find regular seasonal jobs but must take work where and when they can find it.
Several of the improvident ones, like their white-oriented counterparts, are called
"bums" and "winos" and are problem cases for the authorities. But there is a 554
difference between men of the differing orientations even at the lowest status
level. They face in different cultural directions, and the analysis of the data from 735
my sample showed that the Indian-oriented low status man is more a part of his 177
society than the lower-class white man is in his.

In contrast with the white-oriented group, economic factors fail to sepa-
rate the low from many of the middle status people in Indian-oriented society.
Irregular work, low income, poorly maintained and crowded houses are character-
istics shared by people variously ranked on the status scale. The ultimate criterion 554
for status assignment is social participation. 571

Low status people do not take part in as many social activities as do the

Maximilian and Bodmer spent more than a month at Fort 648
McKenzie, in the heart of the Blackfoot country. During this
period (August 9–September 14, 1833) all three Blackfoot tribes 175
came in to trade. While Bodmer was busy making excellent [439]
water color portraits of many of the most influential chiefs and
drawing a panoramic view of the great camp of the Piegans, the
Prince recorded his observations of Blackfoot customs and of
the conduct of the trade at Fort McKenzie.

Mitchell was making definite progress wooing the Blackfoot 648
trade away from the Hudson's Bay Company. At the conclusion
of a feast given by the Northern Blackfoot chief Iron Shirt, that 439
leader gave Mitchell the scarlet uniform with blue facings and
yellow lace which he had received from the "Northern White
Men." Later Mitchell gave the Piegan leader, Bear Chief, a handsome uniform, a red felt hat ornamented with feathers, and a
new double-barreled percussion gun, to let the other chiefs see
"how the American Fur Company distinguished its faithful
friends."

Prince Maximilian was the first white observer to describe the 175
Blackfoot men's societies. He named seven of these fraternities
and noted that they were age-graded. That is, young men pur- 575
chased membership in the Mosquito Society and gradually pro- [561]
gressed through the other societies to the Bull Society of elderly
men. Each society had its peculiar regalia, songs, and dances.
All societies except the Mosquitos and Bulls assumed responsibilities for keeping order in the camp. He also witnessed and
briefly described the dramatic reinactment of the driving of
buffalo into a pound by the colorfully garbed members of the
Women's Society.

Maximilian was disappointed in the information he obtained 175
about Blackfoot religion, explaining, "Mr. Berger the interpreter,
who was otherwise well acquainted with the Blackfoot Indians, 771
could not give me any information respecting their religious 776
ideas, further than that they worship the sun."[27]

---

[26] Maximilian, *Travels*, II, 46, 71–76.

[27] *Ibid.*, 112–17, 122.

851 233 care of the family horse herd. The boy herder rose before daylight to go after the horses in their night pasture and drove them to a near-by lake or stream for water. Then he drove them to good pasturage near camp and returned home to breakfast. He watched the grazing herd during the day and drove it to water at noon and again in late afternoon. Toward evening he drove the herd to night pasture and hobbled the lead mare to prevent the herd from straying.

883 231 Boys who had lots of nerve began to break horses for riding when they were twelve or thirteen years of age. The easiest and least dangerous way to break broncs was in a pond or stream. Two boys rode double on a trained horse, leading the bronc by a rope or halter. They rode into the water until the bronc was up to its shoulders. Then the front rider held the lead rope close to its chin while the other boy climbed on its back. The lad on the trained horse quickly passed the rope to the bronc rider. As soon as the bronc felt the weight of the boy on his back, he began to jump and buck, but as soon as his head got wet, he quieted down. He tired quickly, and the boy rode him out of the water. If the bronc still showed a lot of spirit it was led back into the water again for another session.

At other times boys led a bronco into a muddy or swampy area to break it. Then one of them jumped on its back. When the horse tried to buck, its feet sank into the mire. If the rider was thrown, he would not be hurt. The horse's spirit was broken before it could get out of this boggy training ground.[9]

883 Orphaned boys could find homes with wealthy families by looking after the large horse herds and assisting in the hunt.
[224] All boys began to hunt buffalo calves in their early teens, and not long thereafter they graduated to hunting adult buffalo and
[231] some of them began to join horse-raiding parties. Only the sons of wealthy men could look forward to a good marriage before they had begun to accumulate a herd of their own horses.

[575] [561] [432] In their late teens a group of young men banded together to purchase membership in the lowest of the graded men's societies

---

[9] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull* 159, 60–64.

[ca. 1850]

at the tribal sun dance encampment. They selected a leader, who 883
presented a pipe to the leader of the society. Each of the other 575
youths gave pipes to other members of the society. If the pipes
were accepted, the petitioners were expected to make other 561
gifts of horses and valuable goods to those who relinquished 432
their society membership to them and who taught them the
ceremonial procedures of the organization. It was usual for societies to sell out to a group of younger men every four years.

There were seven of these age-graded men's societies among 561
the Blackfeet in 1833. The youngest group was then the Mosquitos, the oldest the Buffalo Bulls. Two decades later the Bulls 575
Society among the Piegans had become inactive on account of the death of many of its older members, but a new society, the Pigeons, or Doves, had been added to the bottom of the series.[10]

Because members of these societies belonged to different hunting bands, they were only active during the summer season when
the tribal camp was organized. At that time the head chief called [625]
upon one or two of the societies, usually the younger of the
mature groups, to police the camp and the tribal hunt. In the [796]
sun dance camp each society performed its peculiar ceremony. Collectively, the men's societies were known as the All-Comrades.[11]

There was another and even closer relationship between boys 572
of the same band, that of partners. Two boys of about the same age became close companions. They played together as children, helped each other in courting girls, went to war together, and offered advice and assistance to each other whenever it might be needed. If a young man was wounded in battle, his partner risked his life to carry him to safety and stayed behind the rest of the war party until the disabled man was able to be helped home. In many instances this close friendship and mutual assistance between partners continued through the rest of their lives.

---

[10] Maximilian, *Travels*, II, 112–17.

[11] Clark Wissler, "Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. XI, Part 4, 361–450. Includes detailed description of specialized paraphernalia and ceremonies of each society.

[ca. 1850]

women who bet robes, parfleches, travois, weapons, horses, and other valuables on their favorite.[6] 524

525 Another popular women's gambling game was seen among the Piegans more than 150 years ago by David Thompson. Small pieces of wood, each marked to represent different counts, were placed in a wooden bowl, thrown into the air, and caught in the bowl. Then the marks on the upturned surfaces of the rude dice were counted. The bowl passed from contestant to contestant until one of them gained the number of points they had decided would be required to win the game.[7]

A variant of our children's guessing game of "button, button, who's got the button" has been a very popular gambling game among the Blackfeet for more than a century and a half. The Blackfeet called it "fancy gambling." In its most simple form this game was played with two short cylindrical lengths of bone small enough to be completely hidden in a man's clenched fist. One bone was unmarked, the other had a narrow band of rawhide wrapped around its center. The contestants sat facing each other, with a lodgepole on the ground between them. A member of one side was chosen to hide the bones. While his teammates sang and beat upon the lodgepole with short clubs, he swayed with the music and moved his hands back and forth in front of or behind his body, passing the bones from hand to hand to confuse the opposition further. One of his opponents had to guess which hand held the marked bone. If he guessed wrong, the first side scored a point and continued to hide the bones. If he guessed correctly, his side scored a point and gained the right to hide the bones. Twelve willow sticks served as counters, and the game continued until one side won them all.

In the old days this was one of a series of games played between men's societies during the summer tribal encampment. [561]

---

[6] Wissler, "Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians, AMNH *Anth. Papers*, Vol. VII, 60–61. Describes a more complex variant of "the travois game."

[7] Thompson observed this game before 1800, and Bradley mentioned it in the 1870's, but Wissler's informants did not describe it to him in the first decade of the present century (Thompson, *Narrative*, 359–60; Bradley, "Manuscript," *MHSC*, Vol. IX, 277).

[ca. 1850]

524 Both contestants and onlookers bet on the outcome. The stakes
525 were horses, robes, guns, and even the clothing on their backs.
Some heavy betters lost everything they owned.[8]

● 561 The men's societies also competed in the wheel game. One
526 society challenged another by sending tobacco to its leader. If
he accepted the tobacco, his society accepted the challenge also.
If he feared the skill of the rival society at this game, he might
return the tobacco to the challengers. They then presented the
tobacco as a gift to the sun.

The playing field was a level stretch of ground about thirty
526 feet long, with a log placed across the course at each end. Before
561 the game began, members of each society gathered around one
of the logs and sang their ritual songs. Each society carefully
selected as its representative one of its members who possessed
an outstanding war record and who was adept at this game.

526 The wheel used as a moving target in this game was a small hoop, about three inches in diameter, made from the fire-hardened neck cord of a buffalo. Inside the hoop were five or more spokes of rawhide cord and a small opening in the center. The spokes were strung with beads, a different color being used for each spoke, and each color representing a different kind or color of horse (red for sorrel, copper for bay, yellow for buckskin, white, and black). Each contestant carried an arrow-like pole about three feet long with a metal head and feathering.

[525] Spectators lined the sides of the course, many of them betting on the outcome of the contest. They were silent as the two players stepped on the course. Each of these contestants raised his pole toward the sun and offered a short prayer in such words as, "See me. See this arrow. See how it is painted. That is how my arrow was painted when I killed a Crow. I shall shoot to win because what I say is true." Each man then declared his target on the wheel in terms of his own war experience. One might call out, "I took a white horse from the Flatheads. I shall

---

[178] [8] Thompson, *Narrative*, 360–61. A century and a half later this is still a popular gambling game among the Blackfoot Indians. It is now commonly referred to as "the stick game."

526 [779] According to the legend, Napi was the winner, and "that is why there were no buffalo west of the Rockies."[9]

526 561 Foot racing was another popular sport among boys and young men. Boys who could run faster than their playmates were proud of this accomplishment. More formal foot races were run between young men of the men's societies during summer encampments. Each society selected its fastest runner. Clad only in moccasins and breechclouts, they ran a course of half a mile or more. The challenged society had the right to determine the distance to be run.

541 561 Most exciting of the series of contests between men's societies during the summer encampments was horse racing. The horse entered by each society had to belong to one of its members. The entries were determined in secret trials held some distance from the camp by each society. Jockeys usually were relatives of the owners—light, adolescent boys who were smart, expert riders. They rode bareback with only a war bridle and whip to control their mounts. The jockeys wore only breechclouts and tied their hair behind their heads to keep it from blowing in their faces.

Presenting a challenge to an intersociety horse race followed a formal procedure. The challenging society selected one of its most successful warriors, who dressed just as he had when he had won a signal war honor and decorated his horse as it had appeared at that time. He mounted, rode around the camp circle to the lodge of the leader of the rival society, sang his war song, lifted his gun, and fired at the lodgepoles just above their crossing. Then he shouted his society's challenge to a horse race. The rival society's leader rushed out of his lodge, gun in hand, and fired into the air, shouting his acceptance of the challenge with some such boast as, "I killed an enemy and I scalped him. You aren't going to scalp me." Later that day delegations from the two societies met to decide upon the time and the details of the race.

541 These were usually match races run over a level stretch of plains near the encampment. Generally the course was about

---

[9] *Ibid.*, 359.

541 winning horse was often fifty to one hundred yards in the lead. Sometimes one horse played out and was not able to finish. Rarely was it a close race all the way.

After the race the gleeful winners claimed the articles they had won. If a loser protested that the race had not been fair, men of the winning society knocked him down and rubbed dirt or manure on him. With the winning horse in the lead, the victorious society marched back to camp, once around the camp circle, and stopped at the lodge of the leader. The winning horse was entrusted to the care of an old man, who picketed it near the lodge and sang to it. The men of the winning society sang, danced, and rejoiced late into the night.

721 Members of the losing society might consider this a good time to organize a raiding party in quest of a fast horse from an enemy camp—one that would enable them to turn the tables on their rivals the next summer.[10]

517 Certainly the fun-loving Blackfeet had no dearth of recreational opportunities, active or sedentary, summer or winter. Nor
535 were their activities confined to the daytime. At night the Indians
gathered for social dances. Usually the women sat on one side,
the men opposite them, with three or four drummers in the
[534] center. As the drummers beat a lively rhythm on their tambourine-like instruments, individuals rose and danced about,
bending their knees, stomping their feet, and swaying their
bodies gracefully in time to the music.

538 They whiled away the long winter nights with story-telling. Many of the older men were masters of the art of telling a good story, and their repertory was both extensive and varied. There were myths of the stars, of Napi's amusing adventures, and of the origins of sacred rituals and common customs. There were tales of animals and of the heroic deeds of Blackfoot warriors in their conflicts with many enemies. Some of these stories were humorous, even vulgar; some were educational and inspirational.

---

[178] [10] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull.* 159, 227–34. The popular intersociety horse races ended with the breakdown of Blackfoot men's
[561] societies in the 1870's.

175 Piegan chief.[129] Although this evidence is scanty it certainly is suggestive
231 of an increase in the size of herds. What is most significant for our purposes
175 is that by 1833, the time when the large markets for tanned robes in the
States first developed, there already existed an accumulation of horses
178 that made possible the ensuing expansion of polygyny. This expansion in
231 turn perpetuated and intensified the social gradations that already existed,
[595] for men with large herds were the ones who could purchase many wives,
[556] and in the exchange thereby transform idle capital (surplus horses) into
productive capital (women).

175 Following the growth of polygyny and the increasing importance of the
178 bride price in horses we find that the age at which marriages occurred
was also altered. There was a tendency for girls to marry at a younger
582 age and for men to marry at a later age. In 1787 Thompson reported that
girls usually married between sixteen and eighteen, and men at twenty-two
or somewhat later.[130] In 1885, Rev. Wilson's informants told him that girls
[124] normally married at twelve.[131] Our own informants, speaking of the period
of the latter half of the nineteenth century, placed the age of marriage for
girls between ten and sixteen and that of men at thirty-five, rarely at less.
It is during this period that we get the first cases of child marriage. Fathers
[581] now wished to marry off their daughters as early as possible in order to
[583] realize the bride price. On the other hand, men were not chosen as sons-in-law
until they had accumulated sufficient property and had acquired a
good reputation as a warrior or hunter.

178 The increase in the number of wives brought greater friction within the
595 household. The effect of the sororate in eliminating hostilities diminished
593 and at the same time the contrasts between the status of upper and lower
578 wives were intensified. The native term for a wife lower than third or
fourth means slave wife, which accurately describes their status. Lower
(587) wives performed the most difficult tasks, rarely put up Sun Dances, were
most often beaten and most often suspected of adultery.

### *Social Organization*

177 The fur trade stimulated inter-tribal intercourse. Tribes which had little
contact with each other met at trading posts with the result of much borrowing
and spreading of culture elements. A case in point is the borrowing
177 of age grade societies by the Blackfoot from some of the village tribes to
561 the south.

The historical material offers little in the way of positive evidence for the

---

[129] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[130] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[131] Wilson, *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Assoc. for the Adv. of Science*, Sept. 1885, p. 192.

age of these societies among the Blackfoot. If the widespread distribution 177
of such societies in the Plains is taken as a criterion of age, then the existence 561
of a rudimentary system of age grades is very old among the Blackfoot and probably pre-white. The fact that Blackfoot mythology refers to (173)
four basic age grades in a tale of the early days may be significant, depending upon the degree of historicity we grant to their mythology. Some Blackfoot tales are remarkable for their historical accuracy. For example, (173)
the tales which tell of their obtaining horses from the Shoshone to the west (174)
and guns from the Cree to the east are both verified by historical material.

Henday's account of 1754 suggests some policing organization, for he 175
remarks upon the excellent discipline in a camp of 200 Piegan tipis.[182] 625
Thompson in 1787 is the first specifically to mention a policing group. 575
He writes of "soldiers",—young men, married or about to be married, who 561
keep peace and order in camp and prevent gambling disputes.[183] Thompson knew the Piegan well, and that he said nothing more of societies is significant negative evidence. Our first description of Blackfoot societies as we know them was written by Maximilian in 1833. He describes a fully developed and flourishing system of age grades and their associated rituals.[184] Maximilian remarked that the Blackfoot age grades were almost (171)
identical with those of the Siouan tribes to the south.

Kroeber[185] and Lowie[186] have shown that there is a greater similarity 575
between certain Blackfoot societies and those of the village tribes, the 561
Mandan and Hidatsa, than between Blackfoot and Crow and Assiniboine. 177
How are we to account for these similarities? There are at least two alternatives. 174
Either these similarities are due to borrowing from the south through intermediary tribes, or what seems more probable, they were borrowed directly. Our knowledge of early tribal locations for our area shows that the Blackfoot had no contact at all with the village tribes. The first (175)
contacts in the historical period as shown by the literature and the tradition of the tribes themselves occurred in the eighteen twenties and thirties, when the American Fur Company established trading posts frequented by both the Mandan and Hidatsa and the Blackfoot. It is therefore suggested that the increase in the number of age societies took place at a relatively late period, probably in the eighteen thirties or late twenties. This development would therefore coincide with the period in which the expansion of polygyny and herding occurred. The borrowing of age grades

---

[182] Henday, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[183] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

[184] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.

[185] Kroeber, "The Ceremonial Organization of the Plains Indians of North America," *Congres International des Americanistes*, Quebec, 1907, p. 57.

[186] Lowie, "Plains Age Societies," *AMNH-AP*, Vol. 11, pp. 930, 938.

575
561 at this time is intelligible in that they were an ideal mechanism for expres-
177 sing and channelising the vertical mobility which came with the increase
174 in wealth.

Of great significance was the effect of the fur trade upon the authority
439 of the chiefs. This varied at different periods in the history of the fur trade
177 depending upon whether monopoly or competition prevailed. In periods
178 of monopoly the fur trade had a positive effect, that is, it increased the
622 prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it had a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the authority of the chiefs. The Hudson's Bay Company had had a well established trade with the Blackfoot. It had made it a matter of policy to deal only with the chiefs and headmen, and had conferred many honors upon them (medals, chief's coats, etc.) to enhance their authority over their followers. Since all trading with the whites had to be carried on through the chiefs and headmen it gave the latter a monopoly of white trading goods. With the increase in competition these conditions were altered. In order to gain a foot-hold the competitors of the Hudson's Bay Company brought their wares to the very tipi doors of the Indians and made their appeal to the younger men. The result of this policy is stated by Henry Jr.

> "It is lamentable that the natives in general, in this country, have lost that respect they formerly had for their chiefs. The principal cause of this is the different petty co-partnerships which of late have invaded this country from Canada; the consequences are now serious to us as the natives have now been taught to despise the council of their elders . . . ."[137]

The competition between the fur companies was accompanied by sharp trading practices which the Blackfoot soon learned themselves. Franklin, writing from Fort Carlton where he met some Blackfoot in 1819, said,

> "The mode of carrying on the trade (competition) is also productive of an increasing deterioration of the character of the Indians and will probably ultimately prove destructive of the fur trade itself. Indeed, the evil has already in part recoiled upon the traders, for the Indians long deceived have become deceivers in turn, and not infrequently after having incurred a heavy debt at one post, move to another, to play the same game."[138]

888 Another fur trader remarked that the authority of the elders had dimi-
593 nished to the point where fathers could no longer control the produce of
their own sons.

> "They are all remarkably proud of being great men but still they have little or no influence over the others . . . after making the father a chief, you are sometimes

---

[137] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 550.

[138] John Franklin, *Narrative of A Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, Vol. 1, pp. 130-131.

scattered because of the limited food supply;[30] in summer, they "tended 621
to collect and move about, both for trade and for the hunt."[31] Band endogamy 628
was "not good form but not criminal."[32] Residence, in general, was
patrilocal,[33] the young couple setting up their tipi alongside the groom's [221]
father's. It was not unusual, however, for a man to join his wife's band upon [582]
marriage.[34]

Equally significant in Blackfoot social organization were the men's [591]
societies[35] which had "certain names, fixed rules and laws, as well as their 575
peculiar songs and dances" and which served "in part to preserve order in
the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties."[36] As early as the 1830's, [625]
seven such "unions" were noted, their members usually joining the youngest [561]
and gradually rising higher through the others.[37] Entrance depended
upon the payment of a fee, a medicine man and persons of distinction buying [424]
in at greater cost.[38] [432]

These nomads, or "equestrian natives" as Cocking called them,[39] were 182
particularly favored by circumstance. Their country was well stocked with
the buffalo upon which they depended for food, shelter, and clothing; their
early possession of the horse and the gun, and their comparative freedom
from white pressure gave ample opportunity for effective hunting and substantial
profit from an expanding fur trade. This profit was measured in 435
horses. Not only did the horse become their most valued possession, but 231
among them, as elsewhere on the Northern Plains, it formed the chief [436]
medium of exchange. Everything—trade goods, bride price, ceremonial
privilege, and often personal support—was acquired by the payment of
horses. In most instances, the loss of capital was only temporary: medicine 454
bundles, pipes, and society memberships were actually investments[40] that 431
could be resold, sometimes even at a profit, and distributions to maintain
prestige were, in effect, convenient forms of credit. Expectancy is succinctly [452]
expressed in the oft-heard comment, "If a Blood gives a horse away one day,

---

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[31] *Idem.*

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[35] This is the term Wissler uses (See Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, Table of Contents, p. 363.)

[36] Maximilian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, *Travels in the Interior of North America in the years of 1832–1833 and 1834*, p. 255.

[37] *Idem.*

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[39] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Cf. also p. 111, for a statement on their more favorable situation.

[40] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 277. Cf. also Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.

children of the poor. At birth, the son of a rich man was placed upon an 184
otter or a weasel skin. The poor man's child had to be content with a buck- 556
skin bag. Pointed Plume was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which [844]
large and handsome payments were made. The list is impressive: forelock
of the Long Time Pipe; weasel-tail suit, a partnership in the Horn Society [432]
when he was only fourteen years old, and many ceremonial paintings to [852]
insure long life and prosperity. He was rarely permitted to leave his home
and was never entrusted to any white school. [857]

Ned Sloane, the son of a white father and an Indian mother who died 736
when he was born, could boast of no such honorings. Deserted by his one
remaining parent, the boy spent his childhood in the care of his Indian 184
grandmother, visiting from relative to relative. "All of them treated me
like a son," he said, but none gave him any substantial gift—not even his
famous uncle Long Tail-feathers, owner of many powers, though Ned and
his grandmother shared his home for years. At the tender age of seven, the [874]
youngster was sent to the Dunbow Industrial School, more than a hundred
miles from the reserve. In the eleven years he "studied" there, he had four
visitors.

Each member of a men's society hailed his fellow-member as *taka*, 575
a term of friendship that frequently implied a greater degree of affec- [572]
tion and loyalty than was lavished upon a close relative. Even after the
buffalo had disappeared and the hunt was a thing of the past, these societies [178]
persisted; they still remain a great force for solidarity among the Blood. [182]
But within their membership social differences are clearly recognized. It
was the rich men's sons who became the leaders because they could buy the [556]
more expensive bundles.[illegible]

Long before they were eligible for membership in such organizations, 857
young children were well aware of age differences. Very consciously, they [561] ●
sought their playmates within a limited group. But even within this group,
the children of the rich formed an inner clique which set them off as a [556]
snobbish elite and at the same time protected them from the envious as-
saults of their less fortunate comrades; not unexpectedly they chose their [184]
*taka* or special friend from their own social stratum. Pointed Plume says, [572]

> I had a number of boy playmates. They were *minipoka* like me. Buffalo Horn was my special comrade, but Wolf Tail and Painted Arrow were also close friends.
>
> Buffalo Horn, like me, was a *minipoka* and the only boy in the family. It was much easier to play with another *minipoka*, for when we were teased by the gang, I and Buffalo Horn could stick together. Also my family felt that Buffalo Horn was a fit companion for me. He came of a wealthy family and was a favorite son.

---

[illegible] Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, p. 256, for the buffalo period.

857 571 [561] In the children's play camp, however, age-grades were frequently forgotten and boys and girls imitated the life of adults. Some chose to be husband and wife, others mother and child. Pointed Plume says,

> Usually we had partners, but my older sister almost always played with me. I was her son. She thought it safest if she took care of me, because I was a *minipoka*.

[184] No such supervision was given a Ned Sloane. He frankly tells of his sex play with a little girl of five.

[556] The poorer children served the rich children much as the poorer adults served the rich adults. Sometimes this was a matter of free choice, a desire to be identified with a more fortunate child. Pointed Plume says,

> Bird Shooter was not a *minipoka* but he liked to play with the favorite children. His father was related to my father. He had just enough money to keep going. Bird Shooter was a little younger than I. He used to stand at the stick and call the winner in the arrow game.

The service of others, however, was bought and paid for. Pointed Plume says,

> [431] One of our favorite pastimes was making horses out of mud. Neither I nor Buffalo Horn was particularly good at this and we tried to induce Big Bonnet, who was poor but a good sculptor, to play with us and make horses for us. At first he didn't care to, but I finally persuaded him to come to my house. My father gave him moccasins and and pair of pants and my mother fed him well, so he remained with us. He and I were the same age, about ten.

And this service was exacted once it had been bought. Pointed Plume says,

> [431] Big Bonnet used to play the arrow game with us. Arguments would arise as to who was the winner. Big Bonnet wanted his arrows back and would fight the others. If I and Buffalo Horn beat him up he would go home, but he had to come back the next day to play because he was paid for.

Poor boys tried to get even. Ned Sloane says,

> [578] When I was six, there was a favorite child who lived in our band and who wore a weasel skin charm which hung down his back. One day, one of the older boys grabbed the weasel skin and twisted it so that the cord almost choked the *minipoka*. He finally freed himself and went crying to his father. The gang broke up quickly. They were afraid when the father of the boy screamed at them the worst curse known to the Blood, "May you have an early death!"

657 178 SUMMARY.—These first seventeen years on the reservation saw the greatest change in Blood society since the introduction of the horse. A people who had been nomadic, subsisted on buffalo, and raided their neighbors, both white and Indian, for horses that alone brought prestige and the possibility of social advance—these people were now settled within the

### *Men's Societies*

575 In the buffalo period, these age-graded organizations were the chief
182 agents of tribal discipline.[156] They maintained order in the camp and on the
[625] march; they policed the communal hunts; they destroyed the tipi of anyone
who pursued the game before the word was given; they publicly ravaged
[561] and, at times, killed the unfaithful wife or promiscuous sister of a fellow-
[689] member if he so requested. And probably as a corollary to these significant
[684] functions, the men's organizations, within their respective age-grades,
developed a solidarity that was in striking contrast to the general brittle-
[571] ness of Blood relationships.

572 One tie in Blood society is sacred—the tie between a man and his *taka*,
608 his special friend. The choice of a boon companion is made in childhood; it
is upheld throughout life. It is determined by age, by propinquity, and social
[178] position. In the past, *taka* shared the trials of hunt and war and a woman's
[836] favors before marriage. Today of necessity the last alone remains a test of
friendship, but *taka* still use each other's kinship terms: the mother of one
[601] becomes the mother of the other, the sister of one, the sister of the other,
and they assume the responsibilities implied in these and similar relation-
ships.

575 Within the men's societies, alternate grades know each other as "fight-
572 ers," but those who are members at the same time call each other *taka*.
561 The term bespeaks the mutual loyalty expected of them. As a group they
buy into a society; as a group they sell out. Wissler writes, "this companion-
ship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot
scheme."[157]

575 But while the members or *taka* preserve a solid front within their age-
182 grade, the societies themselves retain little of their former importance.
178 There are no more communal hunts; there are no more protected marches.
[561] Only at the Sun Dance, when the bands gather to raise the sun pole and
[796] make their transfers do the societies operate as of old. For the rest, they
function as social and ceremonial entities, interested primarily in feasting
and exchange.

575 In 1939, a sampling of 305 adult males (practically the entire adult male
[162] population) showed that, at some time, 205 had been members of the
Pigeons, 189 of the Brave Dogs, 68 of the Braves, 23 of the Black Seizers,
25 of the Crow Carriers, 4 of the Crazy Dogs, 130 of the Horns, 1 of the

---

[156] For a full discussion of these societies, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–460; for age grades and police power, pp. 365–70; for general pattern, p. 424 ff.

[157] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

sister and never did what he wanted. Many a son leaves his father's house 593
to live with a married sister because he "can't get along with his brothers." 578

The age-grade is an important mechanism for solidarity, but alternate [591]
grades of the men's societies call each other "fighters." Their actions fulfill
expectancy. One man, accused of beating his wife excessively, said in ex- 561
tenuation that he couldn't stand the taunts of his "fighters" who continually 575
reminded him of her pre-marital promiscuity. The conflicts and insult 578
techniques that rule between "fighters" are projected upon the family. Quar-
rels between young children are explained on this basis. A young boy of [182]
nine was tussling more or less playfully with his sister's son aged six. The [593]
father of the elder boy, who at the same time was the grandfather of the
younger, said, "They just can't get along together. They are fighters."
Brothers, merely because of age difference, frequently find themselves in
opposite camps.

This institutionalization of hostility, however, only reinforces behavior 155
patterns implicit in the basic structure of the society.[200] Rivalrous atti- 154
tudes, rooted in the conflicting interests and individualistic goals that
dominate the society as a whole, are freely expressed in childhood. They are [865]
strengthened by early training. They are nourished in adulthood by dif-
ferences over property, whether in women, animals, or land. Some brothers [593]
have not spoken to each other for more than a decade. Mutual assaults [578]
are frequent and fraternal murder is not unknown. Familial attachment
created no problem in loyalties for Yellow Wolf when he assisted in the
police hunt for his notorious brother, Charcoal.

But when economic advantage demands cooperation, hostility may be 593
repressed, if only temporarily. This same Charcoal, after a serious break 476
with Yellow Wolf, joined his haying camp and accepted his leadership [154]
again. The White Plume brothers who beat each other up in the early part
of the week camped together a few days later and brought in the wheat.

Childhood rivalries between sisters are more apt to be dissipated in later 593
life. In the buffalo period, many an early antagonism was forgotten because 578
the advantage of being a second wife in a sister's household overcame the [178]
disadvantage of continued proximity. In the monogamous present, distance
mitigates if it does not completely resolve the friction: after marriage, a [591]
woman still generally goes to her husband's house.

Other aspects of housing also affect family relationships. In the past, no 578
591

---

[200] From an anthropological viewpoint, see Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 236; also Ralph Linton, *The Effects of Culture on Mental and Emotional Processes*, pp. 294, 295; also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Culture as a Determinant of Behavior*, particularly pp. 133–139. From a psychoanalytical viewpoint, see Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, pp. 277–291; also Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, p. 188 ff.; also Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and his Society*, p. 55.

601 the Northern Blackfoot sister's son is always addressed as "son." No special
184 terms referring to step-parents or stepchildren were in use on the Northern Blackfoot reserve, according to our data. *Ni'm·sa*$^{a}$, which is probably the Piegan equivalent of our *niι'mps*$^{e}$, is more broadly used among the Northern Blackfoot than among the Northern Piegan. In addition to being "my daughter-in-law," and "my younger sibling's wife," our data show it as "wife of grandson." Female speakers after marriage use it in reference to the wives of all brothers. In another place we found only two terms where Michelson distinguishes three: *ni'*$^{a}$*sa*$^{a}$ for elder brother, probably our *nι's*$^{e}$; *ni' s̆a*$^{a}$ for son-in-law, probably our *nιs.*$^{e}$; *ni's̆* for brother-in-law spoken by a female for which we found no phonetic equivalent. Females of the Northern Blackfoot address their husband's brothers, if elder than husband, as "grandparent"; if younger than husband, as "son." Females address their sister's husband as "distant husband." Another difference is that we have no single term referring to all members of the second ascending generation; all are "grandparents" except mother's mother's brother who is "older brother." *nitsi'ña·axs* for "my grandfather" did not appear in our field notes; this suffix *nιtsi* is sometimes used to indicate special possession as "my own" or "my very own," showing particular endearment. The term taken by Michelson from Morgan, *n'-do'-to'yose* or *nito'toyōs̆*, did not occur in our notes. We guess that this may be our *nιtstoyo'* which occurred once as an alternative word spoken by a female for "sister's husband"; the more usual word is *nιtotoyom.'*$^{a}$. *nιtstoyom.'*$^{a}$ is the term for a particularly dear distant husband, since it contains the suffix *nιtsi*. Perhaps these terms found by Morgan and Michelson are similar variants.

The differences center largely around two main points. The first is that neither Wissler nor Michelson found the Piegan or Blood overriding generations because of an emphasis on age. Thus father's younger brother was not distinguished by any of these investigators from father's older brother. The second difference lies in the distinctive treatment by the Northern Blackfoot of the men of mother's family; Blood and Piegan do not seem to regard the female line as requiring special treatment.

## II. DISCUSSION

### *Seniority*

561 The age-grading of the males in father's family is the analogue of a broad practice of emphasizing senior authority among the Northern Blackfoot. On the testing ground of juvenile games the older boys directed the ordeals
[701] for the younger ones. On the warpath the elder initiated the party, assumed leadership on the march and divided the spoils. Indeed, an older warrior,

war deeds and political authority being equal, would ordinarily not join 561
a war expedition led by one who was his junior. Among war chiefs who had [701]
already made their major coups, seniority was as important a factor in
prestige as the number of major coups. [554]

Unlike the Pawnee and the Comanche one's prestige did not decline after [555]
the last war deed. War was understood as a means for acquiring wealth,
and if one were already wealthy, status could be maintained in certain 556
spheres without war deeds. Once one had built an adequate herd of horses, 721
there was no humiliation for those who preferred to remain in camp. More- 554
over, after renouncing warfare, one might gain further prestige. Ceremonial [778]
life was another form of competition with property as one of the stakes; a [425]
man surpassed another by paying more for an article of ceremonial im-
portance or by acquiring more sacred articles. The tribal chiefs themselves [621]
were usually older men who had already distinguished themselves as war- [622]
riors. Having given up the war path, they settled with their large herds of
horses to help their relatives and thus established their positions as leaders
in civil life. In this status of leader a man with less wealth and fewer coups
might surpass a man with a finer war record who had greater wealth but less
generosity. Above all, the mere fact of having grown old was regarded with 888
respect, for one must have power in order to grow old. Hence, it was any 561
dignified old man who with his liaisons to supernatural powers said prayers [782]
for the departing warriors. In fact, they prayed that the young man who
offered them a pipe would have a long life and many children. [887]

The general structure of the age societies exemplifies this pattern still 575
further. The societies such as the Bees and the Prairie Chickens were
entered by many young men, required little outlay of wealth for member- 561
ship and served mainly for display, recreation, and solidifying the bonds [556]
between comrades. Those high in the hierarchy of age societies such as the
members of the Catchers and the Horn societies were necessarily older men
of sufficient wealth to pay a relatively high price for admission. Hence the
group of members was not large. In addition these societies were entrusted [692]
with legal authority, based in part on the supernatural power which mem-
bership gave them. We thus see again the tendency to associate with age
both authority and supernatural power. Though the Crazy Dogs, lying [761]
about midway in the hierarchy of age societies, might sing the old Plains
song, "We do not want to become old," this was sung perhaps more in [533]
derision of their "enemy society" than as an expression of the desire to die
young.

Within the residence group any remarks on authority must be prefaced 592
by the observation that the smaller units were in the final analysis auton- 596
omous. Each household unit was free to move any place it desired at the
will of the man who was head. Among the households that coalesced into

592 an extended family, the eldest male was in authority, though any of the
596 constituent households might terminate this authority by camping elsewhere.
Similarly the senior member of an extended family could curtail
[621] the authority of the band chief by withdrawing with his kinsmen to another
band or by forming an independent band, were the group sufficiently large.
[571] All groupings larger than the individual household presupposed that the
military and economic benefits of membership outweighed the disadvantages
of submission to authority.

596 Assuming stable conditions, authority in the extended family lay with the
● 561 senior male. At his death the next oldest was presumptive head of the family.
[603] As a group there was little contact between the young and those of
grandparent status, though an individual might warm to one or more of his
[626] grandchildren and favor him in various ways. A child who spent considerable
time with old people received the mildly derogatory term of *kipitá'puka*
("old-woman-child") because of imitating unconsciously the mannerisms
of old people and hence acting beyond its age. Although an exception to the
rule correlating age with authority may appear in the individual household,
[988] even here the elder might be active in an advisory capacity. Only under
extreme circumstances were old people allowed to die as outcasts. When
transportation was difficult or food running short, then with regret, often
[886] at their own request, the old were left behind on the march. To be sure, the
rule of senior authority was modified when it was realized that senility had
appeared. Then the next in age tactfully assumed the major administrative
role in the extended family or the band, if it had not already been relinquished.

556 The age-authority hierarchy was further reinforced by economic considerations.
431 It was the pattern to associate prestige with generosity. Those who
561 gave generously increased their own prestige, providing that they did not
593 bankrupt themselves thereby. Within the extended family it was the
554 practice to encourage siblings to give to their juniors. This was not only an
expression of endearment or of aiding a weaker person, as it was often
phrased. It also had the effect of putting juniors in the debt of seniors. To
be sure these debts were not the same within the family as outside the
family between unrelated persons, for repayment between relatives was
[684] not categorical. Yet we have such instances as a young man raiding for
horses to repay his father. The father had given horses in settlement to
a husband whose wife had had an affair with the son. In other cases where
an older brother had made his son a favored child, the younger brother gave
abundantly to this favored child, "to repay the older brother for his kindness
to him in his youth." We have also noted that young men returning
from war always gave some portion of their booty to older brothers. The
practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long
as the younger."

practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long 000
as the younger."

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. 561
Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur
where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger 593
brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. 578
Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people [558]
taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation,
for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, [553]
was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older [622]
brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the
younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger [558]
man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat.
In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful [684]
wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an
almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the corespondent
was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in [587]
some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older
brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older
brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son."

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of 561
rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed
that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not 602
called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern 571
Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents [601]
of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*nitax'soku'*).
The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close,
implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation.
Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between
them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was
safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no
sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," [597]
and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not
uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through [575]
the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it
was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by
paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could [578]
vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their
accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned [182]
by their imperious authority.

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen- [152]

[154]

561 iority, tempered, to be sure, by bonds of affection between members of a
571 family, yet finally secure only in the company of one's equals, the comrades,
[602] who were for the most part outside the kin group.

*Generation*

561 As seniority ordered the relations between males and to a lesser degree
602 between females, the concept of generation was the more important one
601 ordering the relations of Northern Blackfoot women to each other. With the
exception of the sibling terms, which differentiate older and younger than
593 ego, the basis for social relationships was fixed by generation. Three main
561 types of relationship may be distinguished: (1) Mother-daughter relationships
implied sacrifice by mother for daughter and obedience by
daughter to mother's commands. A mother sent her daughter with a
tipi made by her own hands to her first husband. She had also made moccasins
[844] for her future son-in-law and his parents. At the birth of her daughter's
child, she was a prominent figure in helping at the delivery. (2) In the
absence of a mother, the older sister fulfilled these obligations, but in general
the relations of older to younger sister required more reciprocity than was
the case with ego's relationship to her mother. Once the younger sister
reached a position where she had means of repaying, she was expected to
[595] repay in various ways her older sister's kindness. Such cooperation was the
ideal, and a Blackfoot argument for sororal polygyny held that blood sisters
made a more harmonious household than unrelated co-wives. However, in
practice the older sister often sat leisurely in command of her husband's
household as the "sits-beside-him wife" while her younger sisters performed
603 the arduous work in the tipi and cared for the children. (3) The relationship
561 of grandmother to granddaughter was typically remote, somewhat reserved
and distant as before all elderly people. Grandmothers, however, made a
practice of befriending and maintaining warm, affectionate relations with
one or more of their grandchildren. Thus nearly every child could count on
warmth and devotion in at least one of the austere old women.

561 These generations are conceptually arranged in two different ways. All
601 women of a mother and daughter line arranged themselves in biological
generation terms. In addition there is evidence for counting generation in a
second way, which fixed the relationships to the lateral lines. After ego's
marriage cross-cousins on the mother's side were all called "grandchildren."
At this time also the wives of this line of mother's brothers were no longer
called "mother" but "daughter-in-law." On the paternal side father's sister
[178] was called "grandmother." Our older informants state that the female descending
line of this woman was also called "grandmother." Today, however,
the descendants are called "older sister" or "younger sister." The
term "grandmother" is, nevertheless, in keeping with the practice of calling

maternal cross-cousins "grandchildren," as one would expect them to reply 561 ●
to the term "grandchild" with the corresponding term "grandmother." 601
Occasional cases appear in our notes where an older person calls his father's sister's child affectionately "little grandmother." If this evidence is sufficient, the paternal cross-cousins were once elevated by the females, while the maternal cross-cousins were once depressed two generations. [We construe this as a second way of calculating generation. It is diagrammed in Figure 7.

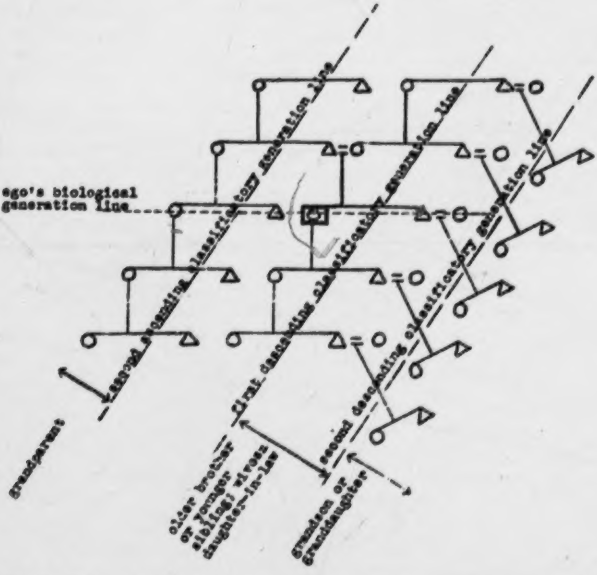

ego's biological generation line
second ascending classificatory generation line
first descending classificatory generation line
second descending classificatory generation line
grandparent
older brother or younger sibling(s); wives; daughter-in-law
grandson or granddaughter

Fig. 7.--Showing the classificatory generation lines for a married female ego with reference to the ascending and descending lines of father's sister and mother's brother.

That this second kind of generation reckoning was not entirely nominal 561
may be seen from several cases. Our informants described father's sister, 602
called "grandparent," as one of the most remote and awe-inspiring relatives. In one case a woman was being disparaged by our informant, and as evidence

561 of her ill-mannered ways she was accused of joking obscenely with a paternal
602 cross-cousin who was nominally her grandmother. In another case a man
[586] was reciting a general formula for handling wives who had gone home from
their husbands: "Then the husband would send his sister to the home of the
wife's brothers to solicit in his behalf." If it be recalled that she along with
her brother is elevated by siblings of the wife's family, then we can understand
[582] her power as mediator. In another instance a man married two
[595] women who were cross-cousins to each other; he was severely criticized for
marrying wives who were "two generations apart."

562 We were struck by the differing ethos of the woman's world as compared
with the man's. Confined in their activity largely to the camp, women were
more complacent, resigned, physically less active, and less apt to engage in
[602] physical battle to settle their differences. This, we believe, was in part the
[182] result of the greater importance of kinship in fixing their social relations
than was the case with men. First it was more difficult for women to alter
562 their status in the social group than for men. War and wealth did not offer
555 opportunities; rather the woman's position was dependent in this male-dominated
society upon the status of her husband. The wife of a chief
(*ni'na.ki*) might display her personal finery to the discredit of other women,
but it was only as the wife of a chief that such conduct was possible. Otherwise
she was a deviant who was treated accordingly. To be sure, women
might raise their status in the social hierarchy through religious and ceremonial
participation, but unlike coups in battle, the woman who vowed six
Sun Dances was accorded very little, if any, more respect than one who
[171] vowed one or two Sun Dances. Though women took pride in good handwork,
there was no widespread or standardized recognition of these accomplishments
that we have uncovered, unlike the Cheyenne women who were
602 admitted to a society in recognition for outstanding handwork.[8] Hence the
kinship system appears to be more effective than was the case with men in
channeling social relationships between women, for there were fewer competing
factors to disrupt its efficient working.

### *Marriage: A Union between Female and Male Worlds*

581 The male world was outside the tipi in the tending of horses, hunting and
562 the counting of coups. There the world was ordered through seniority.
561 Within the tipi it was a woman's world with objects made by the woman,
with children to be tended, and with other women categorized in terms of
generation who assisted her with her duties. Marriage was the institution
that united these two worlds, but it presented a break with the life of the
past for both partners.

---

113 [8] Grinnell, G. B. *The Cheyenne Indians*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924,
Vol. 1, p. 159 ff.

For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life 593
as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, 592
to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war
activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat 581
off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient
horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost
through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath.
The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to
another.

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in 581
the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. 593
This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated [606]
her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm,
affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered
the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early
age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was,
nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape.
Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract
and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt.

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both 601
partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the 607
kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his
wife he was called *nustamo'* while he replied to them with *nustamox'kua*. The [554]
suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a
person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all
children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored
him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's 561
brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated 602
the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband 607
actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between
the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the
sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband
helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient,
a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining
his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through
marriage and hence his personal security.

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of 601
her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was 607
achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who [554]
became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her
"grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the 607
wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her 585

The male
428 relatives were obligated to care for the widow. Women did own property,
421 nevertheless, and might dispose of it according to their own wishes, but
562 should they receive horses from a dying man, a close male relative would be
obliged to care for this property.

[736] Under the violent fluctuation of economic fortunes due to enemy raids,
428 uncontrolled livestock disease and severe winters, inheritance was usually
not a very significant factor in Blackfoot social life. Though there are notorious
[461] cases where young men remained idly in camp because they had inherited
sufficient horses to make the warpath unnecessary, such cases stand
[768] out by dint of their rarity. Most obligations were settled prior to death, and
in mourning dissipation of the property was speedy, relatives and nonrelatives
alike not unwilling to be present at the distraught hand-outs of the
[765] dead man's possessions. Then the immediate kinsmen were left to mourn,
stripped of property, themselves careless of what happened. Nevertheless,
in distributing the property, the prior obligations to siblings as compared
with own children is striking.

593 Throughout life reciprocal obligations between brothers was stressed. In
561 childhood the older brother was responsible for introducing a younger
brother into the boy's life of the camps. Later he took his younger brother
868 on his first war party. As repayment for this instruction, the younger
brother would give a sizable fraction of his booty to the older, and this
practice would continue indefinitely after the young man had showed his
capability of independent fighting. Once established as a warrior, the young
man would take a still younger sibling on war parties, in order to instruct
him. This practice established a chain of obligations to repay older brothers
and instruct younger brothers who in their turn would repay their instructors.

593 Competition for honors was a potentially disintegrating force in the rela-
561 tions between brothers, but this system of obligations solidified fraternal
[578] relations. In this light the prior obligations to brothers over sons is to be
understood: A man's son normally received aid not from his father but from
his father's younger brother who would ordinarily be the son's "older
brother." Thus interaction in certain spheres was greater with members of
adjacent age grades than with one's parents. This was particularly true
with reference to economic exchange, and these economic obligations continued
through life, finally to be expressed in a man's last words on his deathbed.
The main exception to this rule was with a favored child, where the
father himself chose to assume the rôle normally falling to an older brother.
In accordance with such sentimental ties, the favored child usually received
the bulk of a man's property, in contrast to the usual emphasis on sibling
solidarity which succeeded in channeling property toward siblings.

591 Residence after marriage also assumed no specific forms. Not only might

case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for 593
above all the preservation of the household was primary. 571

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of 837
the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman 684
was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this
severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's [554]
relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife [606]
and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder
brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it, "because the father would think back to the days when he was young and understand how his boy felt."

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the 593
strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to 571
the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the [182]
irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might
establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the [154]
marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his own blood as refuge.

### *Current Changes in Kinship*

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes 657
have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture 178
and herding under white management have been substituted. With this
change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life
within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defen- [621]
sive war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units,
the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where [596]
they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their [177]
status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence Blackfoot institutions.

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these 561
changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension 601
of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While
formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," 177
today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib- 178

561 ling." Even in mother's family age-grading shows its effects: Mother's
601 mother's brother is often called "grandparent" today. His age difference
177 with reference to ego makes the former term of address seem inappropriate.
The women of mother's family tend to be addressed in terms appropriate to
178 their age, so that the mother's older sister may occasionally be termed
"grandparent" rather than mother, if she seems to be considerably older
than ego. In the corresponding generations below ego the term "younger
sibling" is rather loosely applied on the basis of age. Thus a younger brother
and his son may both be called "younger sibling" when the difference in age
is not very great. If the age difference is greater, the son of a younger sibling
would be called "grandson." Similarly for a male speaker, the children
through the female line of sister tend to be called "grandchildren" as soon as
the age difference becomes great enough. This is now preferred to addressing
them as "younger sibling." In keeping with this change is the disappearance
of the term "grandparent" as applied to the female paternal cross-cousin.

571 This change reflects a social trend on the reservation toward gerontoc-
657 racy. There exists a definite nostalgia for the buffalo days when the Black-
888 foot were not a dependent minority. Those who actually experienced hunt-
ing and the warpath thereby acquire prestige. In turn those nearer in age to
[554] the glorious past share a diminishing portion of this glory. The sons of re-
nowned warriors take pride in knowing in detail the exploits of their fathers.
Through the mere change from a nomadic to a sedentary life the authority
of the old has also been enhanced. Formerly, limitation of authority was
achieved by the universal right of a man to move to the jurisdiction of some
other less irritating authority. Though the right is still recognized to-day,
freedom of movement from the effects of this authority is more difficult on a
reserve. In the recent past a man deserted his wife and children to live with
[762] another woman. Bound to the reserve, he faced daily social censure for his
acts until he terminated his marginal position by suicide. Moreover, the
freedom of action under an authority is smaller, if only because the author-
[621] ity is closer to its object. The band made up of various related kinsmen or
[596] clusters of kinsmen has dissolved into extended families. With this change
many of the economic and political functions of the band chiefs have
[182] devolved upon the head of the extended family, a smaller and more intimate
[622] group than the band. Hence, evasion of responsibility is less likely today.
[428] In addition certain factors have increased the force of this authority, pri-
[177] marily the increased importance of inheritance. Having adopted white tech-
niques of living and white means of production, with all that house, furnish-
ings, and farm implements imply, the number of objects to be transmitted
at death has increased. Indeed, the value of these objects has also increased
in view of the ritual required to obtain them in the white economy. Thus,
through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old
have increased their power.

through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old have increased their power. 000

This general increase in authority of the aged has not been made without 657
sacrifice in some spheres. Specifically, the final economic and political author- 596
ity now lies with the agency. However, within the frame of white authority 571
many decisions remain in the hands of the extended family. Among these 561 ●
are the choice of residential site on unoccupied land, caring for the aged 178
beyond the allotted rations of food and clothing, designating among the group of dependents those who shall carry out specific duties, and the management of certain undertakings such as trapping and horse raising. The [797]
missionary schools have assumed control over the young children and now
sanction, and even try to arrange, the initial marriage of a young man with [584]
a girl ready to leave the school. However, the head of an extended family may exert influence after the school years are over and select mates for subsequent marriages of his kinsmen. At the same time the younger, active men are usually in immediate control of farm production, the cattle, and the labor in the agency-operated coal mine. Indeed, there have been many instances of reserve cleavage based on the interests of the young "progressives" as pitted against the old conservatives. However, though the young speak vehemently in meetings against the authority of the old, when the issues call for action, few turn against the venerated authority of the elders.

## III. NORTHERN BLACKFOOT KINSHIP TERMS*

1. *naa'xs*, "my grandparent." 601
   - (*a*) Male of father's family or its collateral who is older than father; his wife.
   - (*b*) Female (and her husband) of father's family or its collateral who is of father's generation or antecedent generations (note exception under *5d*, *6d* and *7c*).
   - (*c*) Mother's father and his sibling; his or her spouse; mother's mother and her female sibling; her spouse.
   - (*d*) Sister considerably older than ego (alternative form, *cf.* 5).
   - (*e*) (Male speaker.) Wife's mother; wife's father; wife's father's sibling or his or her spouse; wife's mother's sister or her spouse.
   - (*f*) (Female speaker.) Member of husband's family older than husband; his or her spouse.
   - (*g*) (Rare with female referent.) Descendant of the female line of father's sister; her husband.
2. *nin.'a*, "my father."
   - (*a*) Father; comrade of father, *i.e.*, age mate of father (*cf.* 16).
   - (*b*) Husband of mother's sister.
   - (*c*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.

---

* All terms, once defined according to Blackfoot usage, will be so used in defining additional terms.

177 salaries in Agency or Council positions but they use this income to
184 help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinsmen work the
565 554 ranch in return for some financial support. All share in the profits
and losses from the enterprise.

Because of their Indian-orientation, however, they must curb
[626] their economic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very
capabilities that make them valuable leaders within their group subject
● [561] them to constant surveillance and criticism. In addition, their youth
[888] is held against them. In the past, status through wisdom came with age
[571] and in the eyes of many of their people they are wise too soon. So
these men cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and helpful,
and build a following that will attest to their wisdom, skill and
generosity in future years.

It is possible that in later life these men might take over the positions of custodians of tradition as these become vacated by the present Chiefs, but this is doubtful, even though some people occasionally refer to them as "young Chiefs." The tentative prediction would be that high status positions of both types will be filled from below where the factors of relative education and experience tend to produce differential acculturation within the Indian-oriented society. As will be seen later, people of lower status already give indications as to how these positions will be filled.

### Low Status[197]

Low status Indian-oriented people can be described by characteristics greatly similar to those of the same status in white-oriented

---

[197] Three of the eight Indian-oriented subjects in the probability sample are ranked in this class (Cases 10, 32, and 47).

434 shops and second-hand stores. One of our interpreters sold a radio
432 to a neighbour to obtain money for gifts at the Sun Dance. The
Sun Dance vower's house, when visited before the Sun Dance, was
[437] adequately furnished, but afterwards it was nearly empty. Fortunately, it was not necessary to convert all of the furniture into cash; some pieces were directly converted into services at the ceremony.

434 A second and more frequent means of obtaining money is by soliciting one of those kinsmen who is socially obligated to mutual
431 sharing. This expedient is of limited usefulness in acquiring cash,
602 although almost any relative will share food and some clothing. These reciprocal obligations apply particularly to brothers, brothers-
[593] in-law, and age mates. However, if the borrower is poor and the
[607] loaner wealthy, repayment is not expected. Control over asking too
● [561] frequently for assistance is the Blackfoot emphasis on the virtue of giving rather than receiving. Just as a middle-class white, failing
[558] to return his social invitations, would find himself ignored, so Blackfoot failure to reciprocate gifts means loss of prestige; and gifts, like white parties, are most frequent among equals in status.

435 As a result of all this scarcity, currency has increased in value. At ceremonies a dollar in currency is considered the equivalent of a
436 blanket worth several times that amount in a local store. As previously mentioned, only one Blackfoot farmer pays regular cash wages to his employees, the remainder making only occasional and
124 irregular payments. Part of the willingness of Indians to act as informants may be attributed to the desire for cash.

437 Two systems of transaction result from the scarcity of money. Cash is used mainly for transactions with whites and seldom passes from one Blackfoot to another. Within the reserve, however, all transferable property circulates; horses, articles of furniture, clothing, and bedding move about fairly freely on the reserve and to Indians of neighbouring reserves as well. This is a continuation and extension of the pre-reserve economy, for which there were many possible means of distribution. There is little development of production to satisfy the demands of this internal economy. Alone of Blackfoot products horses are of value here, but the horse raisers tend to prefer to change horses into cash rather than into sacred objects or other items of intra-reserve value.

438 As we shall more clearly in our study of distribution, the flow
431 of chattels through the reserve is not a lively one. The most valuable assets that a man has come from the agency via trust funds and are
[425] non-transferable. Thus it is usually the smaller and less valuable
[439]

643 so doing, he shows an active interest in the solution of tribal problems.
622 To have fought against popular opposition, to have overcome traditional Blackfoot shyness before chiefs in convincing them of the necessity of a measure, and most of all to have triumphed over
643 the agent, all these are signs of chiefly ability. In addition, however,
622 the solving of problems on the reserve frequently implies familiarity with the reserve and with white culture as well. At this point edu-
177 cation becomes an important requisite. More and more Indians have realized that a weakness of the council of chiefs has been a lack of information about conditions beyond the reserve. Agency decisions hinge on world market conditions, votes by parliament in Ottawa, trade agreements, and many events beyond the horizon of most Indians. The Blackfoot world has been limited in the past to a radius of a few hundred miles from the reserve. But it is expanding: two men recently visited eastern Canada, another pair Australia; and, doubtless, participation in World War II has expanded the horizon still more. The world view of most old chiefs is limited to local events, so that their decisions cannot encompass the modifying effect of factors in the larger world. Blackfoot chiefs are gradually discovering that those who advocate higher prices for wheat must reckon with the world wheat market. Hence persons with education beyond the reserve school are greatly needed, and knowledge of modern accounting, agriculture, or husbandry would give weight to potential candidates. They would be credited with having a "good head."

643 In addition to these are a host of factors which might lead to preference of one candidate over another. Age with its implication
622 of sagacity and supernatural power is an asset. In 1941 all but two
[561] chiefs were over fifty, and only three had been elected when under forty. Though rivalry between the east and the west ends of the reserve has abated, a feeling still exists that both ends of the reserve should be about equally represented on the council. Genealogical descent from a former chief may help, for several chiefs of the present council are sons and grandsons of eminent men in buffalo days.

These qualifications of the chiefs are thoroughly ingrained in the thinking of the Blackfoot, and hence it would be difficult to elect chiefs who do not meet these requirements. Indeed, we have followed local usage in calling the members of the council "chiefs" instead of "councillors" as does the Indian Act, for they are thought of in such terms. The difficulty for pressure groups is to find candi-

596 643 of the council cannot give jobs to his followers by dint of his position, though the head of a family can always assist a needy relative. Through the chiefs an increase in annuity is rarely attained, but a generous leader of an extended family may answer such a demand with an occasional five dollars from his own pocket. Finally there [621] is no longer an identity to the extended family. The band names covering several widely scattered families function mainly at the Sun Dance circle. The elected chiefs now unidentified with any specific group of followers speak mainly for their immediate circle of relatives and have been accused of neglecting persons with remoter ties.

596 829 There exists, nevertheless, a strong feeling on the reserve that the extended family is the proper social unit for living. One man complained that the size of Blackfoot acreages was too small. Individual acreages should be enlarged so that a man could raise more and make more money. This was not, however, sheer avarice, for he added, "Then we could take better care of more people." The Blood reserve is regarded as a model in this respect, for there a few Indians have several hundred acres and can support a sizable group. These few wealthy Blood are chiefs in modern dress, for they can live well and still fulfill their obligations to less fortunate kinsmen. [556] In comparison the Blackfoot are as a group wealthier yet usually not sufficiently wealthy in terms of individual productive capacity to become leaders in the new sense.

### Social Organization and Age

561 A delicate balance of cultural rewards was provided in buffalo days for the young and old. The glory of war with all its Plains embellishments furnished rewards for the young. To the old was granted political and religious authority. Though the obligations of a successful warrior as a member of the camp were scarcely onerous, he was, nevertheless, subject to the dicta of his elders. In the home, the transition point between submission to, and wielding, authority occurred about the time of marriage. This was usually at about thirty years of age. As head of a household, a man's interest in stability of social relations increased. The sizable herd of horses gathered on previous raids must be conserved, since home responsibilities kept him from the warpath. This was done by using the horses in canny transactions. It was time now to start giving to the

younger people rather than keep on repaying the older as he had 561
done after his own war parties. The younger men would return
these gifts with interest after a successful raid. A stake in a household
also changed his interest from seducing women to preventing
their seduction. To ensure stability or overcome misfortune, he
acquired sacred bundles and regalia. By virtue of the supernatural
reinforcement derived from these bundles he achieved power in his
utterances.

A second mechanism, age-grading, further organized the rela- 561
tionship of young and old. A boy with his comrades entered this 575
hierarchy of six to twelve age-societies by purchasing from the age-
group of his immediate elders their society regalia. Having held it
four years, this group sold the regalia to its juniors and again bought
the society regalia of the next older age-group. These societies held
annual dances in the circle camp of the Sun Dance and solidified
relations with one's own age-mates. Certain societies were also entrusted
with various kinds of authority to maintain order in the
camps. Between adjacent age-grades joking relationships existed, [522]
so that humorously turned but often keen-edged criticism furnished
socially permitted opportunities for reprisal against the authority
of one's elders. The relations of alternate age-grades were on the
other hand friendly, thus effecting a dual division of the tribe with
all ages represented in each half. In keeping with the authority of
the elders was a progressive change in character of the societies with
age. Not only did the price of membership increase so that fewer
could afford to join as the series progressed, but to the older age-
grades increasing supernatural powers were attached. Though the
Bees for younger boys was mainly a large dancing society, the Horns
at the top of the hierarchy had definite powers, rituals, and obligations
of an extremely sacred character.

Today at the age of seven all Blackfoot children leave home to 872
attend one of the two missionary boarding-schools on the reserve.
The term begins late in August and continues until after the Sun
Dance is over in the last part of June. On occasional Saturday
nights the little children only may return home, but not until the
two-months' summer vacation is there any prolonged contact with
their parents.

School curricula are directed towards training the young for
elementary literacy in English, Christian outlook, and familiarity
with white techniques of living. English is taught in the classroom [191]

872 and propagated in at least one of the schools by prohibiting communication
191 in Blackfoot. After a year the children are usually able
to write simple sentences in English and by the fifth year compose
simple stories. A periodical put out by the Roman Catholic school
contains news of the school and specimen compositions by the children.
[212] There are also stories written in Blackfoot by one of the fathers
who employs a semi-phonetic system of rendition. Unfortunately
few Indians can read this material, since this system of writing
872 Blackfoot is not taught in school. In addition to classes in religion,
797 Christianity is taught through contact with the teachers, daily
attendance at chapel, and witnessing the celebrations of feast days.
The memorizing of prayers and catechism aids both English usage
and religious indoctrination. Later, participation in the service as
872 acolytes familiarizes the boys with church ritual. From the beginning
177 children are taught the use of tooth-brushes, bathtubs, and
other non-Indian paraphernalia. As they grow older, increased responsibility
is given in the maintenance of the school. A boy may
begin at seven with sweeping the dormitory and by seventeen be in
charge of the milk cattle. Similarly, a girl may be first required to
help set the table, while her older sister bakes bread in the school
kitchen. These duties acquaint the young with white techniques of
living which are intended for later use in reserve life.

561 Association with children of one's own age fits nicely into the
Blackfoot pattern of age-grading. As in former times, school children
572 call their class-mates "comrade," this term applying to both females
and males. Between comrades sharing and co-operation is expected.
They exchange gifts, make joint expeditions to town on Saturday,
and work together in the school vegetable garden. Thus reinforced
by the culture, one's class-mates usually become special associates
for life. As young men, comrades play pool, gamble, seduce women,
and get drunk together. Women, whose activities are circumscribed
by the household, have less opportunity to continue contacts with
their female comrades. We have evidence of the continuation of
informal inter-age-grade rivalry and joking, but little of solidarity
between alternate age-grades.

872 Normally school life continues until eighteen for boys. In the
interest of morality school authorities see that girls are married
[582] before leaving school. Boys have usually been away from school a
few years before marrying. After a maximum of eleven years in
school the children have nominally completed eight grades. Actually

few Blackfoot have even the most elementary knowledge of subjects commonly taught in the village grammar schools. Their training is insufficient for graduation into higher white schools but is considered adequate for living on the reserve. 872

Many young men have remarked on the strangeness of the transition from school to reserve life. From a life where days are planned on a background of hours and minutes they proceed to a life with faint temporal structure. The food is strange and appears irregularly. Interests of people are no longer guided by duties to God or saint but by the harsher necessities of earning money. The personal authority of the matron or master is suddenly replaced by a set of maxims under the name of "listening to the words of your father." Aside from school friends a boy is acquainted only with his close kinsmen. Others are remote and strange. When leaving school is complicated by the fact that parents have separated and the households reorganized, the boy may be utterly lost. A lad in such a predicament was given a job as handy-man for two years at the school to ease the transition. Another without close emotional ties to the new household made frequent visits back to the school. In addition, few techniques taught in school are applicable to making a living on the reserve. Irrigated gardening and milk cattle furnish no preparation for a life of growing wheat, digging coal, and tending horses. These techniques must be hastily learned under the tutelage of some relative and the farming instructors. 512 872

For girls the transition is frequently even more difficult. From the school they enter reserve life practically immediately as a bride in a strange house away from their parents. Washing clothes in a washing machine and mechanical mixing of bread dough ill fit these girls for life in a house without running water or electricity. From the helpful hand of a mother-in-law or a sister-in-law they learn entirely new techniques that are suitable for living in houses and camping in tents.

Although the transition be rough, the young are quickly incorporated into the life of the reserve. The economy depends on young men, first as helpers and later as heads of family production units. Whatever the task, growing wheat, raising horses, mending the roads, dynamiting a seam of coal, the young form the body of labour for the agency-managed economy. They have become the bread-winners for their households. With many concepts established by their years of school life these twenty- and thirty-year-olds try 561 ● [464] 177 434 561

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

177 434 561 to lead a life as much like whites as possible. When they have their own households, they accumulate the trappings for it that they have associated with white living. Young couples thumb through the mail-order catalogues and spend their annuity money on linoleum carpets, lace curtains, and chesterfield sets. Dissatisfied with rations, they buy canned goods and sweet rolls from local stores. They go to the hospital for medical care and attend church. On holidays in Calgary they buy new clothes in cowboy style. For amusement, though hand games are popular, they also play pool and go to the movies. While they usually travel the trails and highways in a wagon, they hope some day to own an automobile. All these aims presuppose cash, and a feverish drive for pay cheques begins. They look forward to the returns from the crop, the annuities in April, and the beef money; but this is not enough. They pester the agent and the farm instructors for jobs and occasionally find temporary employment off the reserve.

But reserve income is scarcely geared to the speedy attainment of their ends. On good years some of the symbols of white culture can be bought, and then one may find in farm houses alarm clocks, kitchen cabinets, and radios. In poor years when the crop fails, when beef prices are low and desire for odd jobs universal, they are lucky to have food enough to supplement their rations. With prolonged hard times, the furniture must be sold to get cash for groceries, and in the end they may be reduced to mattresses on the floor and a cook stove in the corner. There is little to cushion the transition from prosperity to hard times.

561 177 All the while the old epitomize the exact opposite of this way of life. They wear their hair in braids, feel more comfortable in moccasins, wear what clothes are available, and care little about owning automobiles. Their houses are bare, their diets, Indian variations on the basic rations, and their horses dispirited nags. To the young who identify themselves with white standards, these are "reserve Indians" without interest in the worthwhile things of life. A resistance to Indian life begins which is enhanced by the imperious demeanour of the older men. The latter's criticism of white ways could perhaps be expected and met by amusement or ridicule of their ignorance, were it not that the old demand deferential behaviour. They bid the young remember their words and lecture them on proper conduct. They say, "You do not know anything; you were just born," and when matters of importance arise, they

dispatch the young from the room. As a result the old and the young 561 tend to stay apart. The young band together for their own amusements where they may lampoon the older men and dismiss their 177 sacred bundles as museum relics, which they would be glad to sell for cash. Seldom does one find older people at pool halls or hand games where young men gather. All conclaves of old men are sedulously avoided by the young. The oft-repeated stories of war and camp life in buffalo days are not only dull to young ears but so strange as to be unbelievable. Similarly, ceremonials and religious dances are defined as events for "old-timers," and the young occupy themselves elsewhere. When contact is unavoidable, the young remain respectfully silent or depart as unobtrusively as possible.

Though beset with difficulties, the path is clear. The young must keep apart and identify themselves more with white ways. In this [874] direction some have attempted to advance their status by attending technical schools. Despite inadequate preparation in the reserve schools a few have succeeded in completing one or more of the courses. Yet once out of school with certificate in hand there are few opportunities to apply their knowledge. Even should their competence 464 be recognized, Indians, who are supported by tax money, are, according to many whites, ineligible to compete with tax-paying citizens for jobs. On the reserve there is little encouragement to use these resources, for jobs requiring technical skills are filled by white employees. Should a reserve tractor need repair, the white mechanic is summoned from town. Thus, despite all desires, the young man is rejected by his model.

The devotee of white ways may still persist though confined to the reserve for the achievement of his goal, yet even in this limited 177 sphere affairs are difficult. The council of chiefs with its positions held by older men is frequently out of touch with the exigencies of farming. For instance, only after many years was the complaint of the farmers heard, that a single team of horses tired too quickly to plough the fields in the time allotted. Then the council granted farmers two teams of horses. The uncertainties of income, however, are the greatest frustration, for every poor year brings the young men closer to the circumstances of the caricatured old Indian. Then as he gives up his hard-earned symbols of white culture and is forced to seek an alternative, he slowly comes to question the values for which he has been striving. If his child dies, his faith in the protection of white medicine and Christianity is shaken. If his livestock

Thus change the aims of the young. While a few change to Indian 177
ways shortly after leaving school, the majority change about the
fortieth year of life, though a few remain true to white ways even [561]
until sixty. There are several factors involved in accelerating or decelerating
the transition. As we stated previously, successive years of
hard times is the most frequent factor in speeding the abandonment
of white ways. Related to this is personal industriousness, the more
easily discouraged joining the Indian ways earlier. Membership in
an extended family that is dominated by an espouser of Indian or
white style of living necessarily exerts an influence also. Finally the
sheer pressure of conformity will bring many into line. Reluctance
to be left behind when all one's comrades participate as a group in
a ceremonial is a powerful force for conformity. Thus we have found
instances of joining the Tobacco Dance, for example, for purely
gregarious reasons.

What has been said concerns primarily males. Women, too, make 177
the transition, but its more dramatic aspects occur at an earlier
period of life. The schoolgirl frequently wears modish clothing, curls 561
her hair, and dons high-heeled shoes. But it is rare to find her in
this costume after marriage. Women, since they have received the [291]
submissive role in the culture, are less free to maintain the outward [302]
manifestations of white ways. Even a younger brother has authority
over her, and when an old man comments on her lipstick, there is no
course for a person wishing to remain respectable but to abandon
it. Indeed, reserve attitudes (i.e. male attitudes in particular) on
white dress for Indian girls is negative in the extreme, so that on [291]
leaving the relative isolation of school, it would be nearly impossible [302]
to maintain white female attire. A few months after marriage most
women have adopted shawls, calico dresses, and braids. Another 177
factor making the transition to Indian ways early for women is that
so many of the techniques for living which she learns in school are
inapplicable to her later in life. It is not solely the cooking and
clothing but the entire style of life that has little or no standards
for comparison with white life. Living in a tent which is frequently
moved, kindling a fire in the portable stove, preserving the ration
by smoking and drying, procuring water in a bucket from the river
are all essential tasks of an Indian woman, which in white culture are
either male tasks or non-existent. Moreover, with her obligations
centred in the household, she is not free to prolong her contacts
with the white world. To be sure a few of the techniques acquired

177 in school may be used by Blackfoot women, if they fit the circumstances. Probably standards of household cleanliness have been elevated through school influence; bed linen is found in some homes, and washing may be done with a hand-driven machine. It is the woman who wants to demonstrate her adherence to white standards who urges her husband to purchase a kitchen cabinet and a linoleum carpet for the kitchen. In such regards the influence of white culture via the schools persists, yet the major conversion of a woman to Blackfoot ways occurs at the time of her marriage. Whether or not she becomes an active participant in Indian ceremonials is largely determined by the interests of her husband and the character of the extended family. One young woman announced her eligibility for the role of Sun Dance vower by participating in the tongue-cutting ceremony, though she was under thirty. Others join with their ● [561] husbands when the latter enter a society. The sole society for women [575] is joined only by women over fifty whose interest in Indian ways has long been established.

This change to Indian ways, it must be emphasized, is not a degrading experience to the individual concerned. Only in the eyes of those who are still trying to embrace a white outlook is this a humiliating experience. For the rest it means a renewal of solidarity with the past, the discovery of the true way of life, and the renouncing of an illusion. There is pride in being an Indian and adhering to the ways of one's ancestors. There was little security in striving for white values. As a devotee of Indian ways one gives up the ambivalent position of trying to become a replica of the whites who themselves deny the possibility. A certain psychic relaxation occurs that makes the avowed Indian stronger within himself.

Such a transition does not necessarily mean giving up one's mode of earning a living, abandonment of a house for a tipi, nor wearing buckskin attire. It is mainly a reorganization of values so that the 177 same behaviour occurs, though directed towards different ends. A 461 man should continue farming or mining, for industriousness is a Blackfoot virtue too. However, the ardour for earning cash does 434 not seem so great. As an Indian he works for security by solidifying the extended family rather than by acquiring white trappings for his own household. Because in time these trappings are all given away, many an Indian home is quite bare. A man senses his obligations to 177 kinsmen and the necessity for solidarity with them. When the pay 434 cheque comes, he buys blankets and food to give away instead of

177 in every respect, yet he sought actively to convert others to his
faith. This was regarded as dangerous and caused considerable friction
[797] until he ceased to proselytize. No doubt other criteria of acceptable
conduct for a devotee of Indian ways can be found, but considerable
latitude of deviation seems to be tolerated, as was also the
case in buffalo days.

Let us observe finally what effect these changes have had on
177 ceremonial structure. First we see the collapse of the old structure
of age-societies. Though four of the societies still exist, their character
● 561 has been radically altered. The Prairie Chickens society last
575 changed hands during the early twenties, was danced a few times
at the Sun Dance camp, and then practically ceased to function.
177 Its members, who are now in their early thirties, have little interest
in Indian ways, and whenever the older men encourage them to hold
561 a dance, they maintain they are too busy. In winter time the members
575 occasionally hold a dance in Crowfoot Hall, but here the newer
535 dances such as the Owl Dance rather than the traditional Prairie
Chicken dance are preferred. The Crazy Dog society, a step higher
in the age-grade hierarchy, has shared a similar fate. Though it has
danced a few times within recent years, the dance positions were
occupied mostly by older men interested in a display rather than
the incumbents who were busy farming.

Only the Half Braves, now a society of middle-aged men, continues
the tradition of holding an annual dance at the circle camp.
This secular society, formerly for much younger men, is now made
177 up of those who have turned to the Indian style of life. There are,
however, a number of age-grades represented in its membership of
561 predominately wealthier men. Single members are recruited from
575 time to time from those who would normally belong to the alternate
age-grade, and thus the joking derision of the adjacent age-grades
can be maintained. Occasionally a society hand game is held where
this organized group plays the unorganized survivors of the adjacent
age-grades, but this is infrequent. It is possible that in a few
years the Crazy Dogs will reorganize similarly taking in some of the
at present unorganized middle-aged men of the adjacent age-grades.

177 The most dramatic change has taken place in the Horn Society.
Formerly at the top of the age-grade hierarchy, its members possessed
561 supernatural powers through the ownership of regalia. Today
575 its members are often the forty-year-olds who are just embracing
778 Indian ways. In fact vowing membership in this society may be one
of the first signs of a transition. Since the supernatural power of the

Horn Society is the greatest of any society, its strength is regarded 177
as comparable to that of the Christian churches. Furthermore, its
power has been increased by combining into it the regalia of the 561
former Kit-Fox Society, a defunct society with great supernatural 575
power. Thus when Christian power has failed, one appeals at once 778
to the strongest of Indian powers. This change occurred during
World War I when after a lapse of about thirty years the Horn [771]
Society was revived by a group of comrades because of their interest
in Indian ways. At that time it still had age-grade character. After [155]
the influenza epidemic of 1918 it was bought out by persons of
various ages who had vowed to join in order to ensure recovery.
Since then persons of many ages have formed groups to join the
society, though the majority is middle-aged. Because it is vowed
only in time of severe crisis, the period of holding membership is
now about ten years instead of the former four.

The Sun Dance itself has also been forced into conformity with 177
reserve life. The circle camp no longer makes the four changes in
location before building the lodge. Without the participation of 796
young people, the circle is a thin line of tipis and tents with numerous
gaping holes where an extinct band formerly camped. Because
of farm work and the Calgary Stampede, it lasts only about a week
instead of several weeks. On the climactic day of general participation
to erect the Sun Dance lodge, a handful of individuals kneel
with the calico offerings before the ceremonial leaders to have their
faces painted. The past enthusiasm at raising the centre pole and
pushing the rafters into place has become almost perfunctory. Few
go forth to gather the green branches that form the outer wall. Only
one or two dancers appear in yellow paint to dance inside the lodge.
Nevertheless, the ceremony is considered indispensable, for without
it the entire tribe risks misfortune. Since the eligible vowers are few
and cannot afford the frequent, repeated expense that is involved,
financing has become a public interest. Donations are solicited from
the age-mates of the vower's husband; Horn Society members and
chiefs make contributions as part of their community obligations.
Under these circumstances the Sun Dance continues as a reunion
of those who embrace Indian ways and as a time for them to display
their solidarity with the past.

Certain features of the Tobacco Dance have also changed.
There has been a comparable simplification of ritual so that some
of the winter "sings" for opening the Beaver Bundles have been
omitted. More important is the change in character of ownership 177
778
422

824 [825] been able to review this with him. He said that the cutting of small trees
was sanctified with fire originating from a sweet grass lighter.

TOBACCO

Nicotiana multivalvis

276 796 Smoking was an important part of Blackfoot ritual: like the communal
182 meal, it tended to emphasize the inclusiveness of those partaking.
575 249 Traditionally, the native tobacco (Nicotiana multivalvis) was ceremonially
796 planted and harvested by members of a North Blackfoot society known as the
Tobacco society (Fig. 4). (It is noteworthy that this society was not a
[184] [561] part of the age-graded system and that it was maintained only by the North
Blackfoot.) For about a week, each spring, members gathered at the sacred
planting-grounds. Elaborate ceremonies accompanied the sowing. The tobacco
[237] [415] seed, with fertilizer, had been stored through the winter in pericardium
containers of the society's Tobacco bundles. (The same bundle, less certain
paraphernalia, was alternately called the Beaver bundle.)

249 [782] Between the period of planting and havensting, taboos prevented anyone
[784] from visiting the plots, because the young plants were being tended by
[786] [776] supernatural Small People, who did their gardening in return for offerings
of miniature apparel, which had been left at the close of the planting
ceremony (Fig. 5).

824 At harvest, in the fall, the seed was used to replenish the bundle
778 276 supplies, and the leaves were distributed to the appropriate claimants, who
[249] in turn later distributed leaves to the other divisions of the tribe. The
tobacco usually was mixed with the leaves of kinnikinnik (Arctos-taphylos
uva-ursi) or the dried cambium or red-osier dogwood (Cornus stolonifera).
The mixtures were included with all religious bundles---either in the bundle
proper or in a preliminary bundle.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

824 We have been
575 told that the power root was once included in the rites of
● [561] most of the age-graded societies and of the Matoas Beaver and Medicine Pipe bundles. Most of these rites are now extinct; only the rites of the Horns and the Motokiks persist, and they are incomplete.

776 In the Horn Society the root figured mainly in the initiation ceremonies:
824 it could be found in the nontransferable initiation bundles. Having been
575
778 distributed by the owner of the Spear Staff bundle to the others, down to the owner of the Spear Staff bundle to the others down to the owner of the Marten, the root was kept in the mouth and used to bless the initiates. After the ritual the root was tied to the paint-application sticks (Fig. 23 #24), to fortify and replenish the supernatural power inherent in the paint. The same was done with a wooden scratching-pin, which was either worn in the hair or attached to one's garments. This was done in preparation for the next opening ceremony.

[842] Sau-gas-sin was used during the secret ceremony of the Horns, in which the chief ceremonialist participated in a fertility rite with the initiates's wife. Pieces of the root were attached to the binding of the Spear Staff (with bundle), which was the head staff of the society.

[754] Apparently, curses were indulged in by the Horn Society as a whole. In
[343] this case a special sweat lodge was constructed. A human figure representing the condemned man was drawn in the bottom of a pit intended to contain hot stones. The stones were brought in at a designated time and placed on the drawing to represent the victim's suffering. The power root was kept in the mouth during this ceremony.

[302] The Pigeon Society used the same root during the ritual of body-painting
[292] and in the same manner as did the Horn Society. The root was tied to the headdresses of all members of this society.

000 Society members were very careful to avoid being provoked while the root

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

## MEN'S SOCIETIES.

In each division of the Blackfoot Indians there was a series of societies 561 for men known as the i$^{n}$kŏnnŏkatsiyiks (all of the same age or experience, 575 chums, etc.), usually translated as all-comrades.

The first notice of these organizations seems to occur in Maximilian:—

> The bands, unions, or associations, mentioned when we were speaking of the Assiniboins, are found among the Blackfeet, as well as all the other American tribes. They have a certain name, fixed rules and laws, as well as their peculiar songs and dances, and serve in part to preserve order in the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties, &c. Seven such bands, or unions, among the Blackfeet, were mentioned to me.... New members are chosen into all these unions, who are obliged to pay entrance; medicine men, and the most distinguished men, have to pay more than other people.[1]

Then follow some two pages given over to a brief characterization of each society in turn. They were first listed by Maximilian[2] as dances: 1. *Sohskriss*, mosquitoes. 2. *Emitähks*, the dogs. 3. *Sähnipähks*, the kit-fox. 4. *Mastöhpate*, raven-bearer. 5. *Ehtskinna*, the horns. 6. *Innakehks*, the catchers. 7. *Stomick*, the bulls. At another place (575) he mentions "der Tollkühnen (des imprudens ou des téméraires)" and states that the above seven all danced in the same manner but differed in the singing.

In 1892 the Rev. John Maclean read a paper before the Canadian Institute on the social organization of the Blackfoot, seemingly based upon observations among the Blood division from which we take the following:—

> There are several grades of warriors among the tribes. The writer found the following grades among the Blood Indians:—
>
> Mokaikĭnûkĭ, the Brave Warriors: Heavy Shield is head of this band of soldiers.
> Mastoqpatûpĭ, the Crow Warriors.
> Imĭtaiĭnakĭ, the Dog Warriors.
> Etsĭnakĭ, the Horn Warriors.
> Kaispa, the Sioux Warriors.
> Siksĭnaksĭ, the Black Warriors.
>
> *Potaina*, better known as "Joe Healey," told me that the men must be thirty-four or thirty-five years of age before they are admitted into the ranks of the black soldiers. The highest position obtainable by a warrior is after having passed through all the military grades he receives the full rank of warrior.[3]

---

[1] Maximilian, 115, 117.
[2] Maximilian, German edition, 577.
[3] Maclean, 255.

At about the same time Grinnell's "Blackfoot Lodge Tales" appeared, giving a full list for the Piegan:—

> "This association of the All Comrades consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benevolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society at large. All these societies were really law and order associations. The Mŭt′-siks, or Braves, was the chief society, but the others helped the Braves.
>
> A number of the societies which made up the *I-kun-uh′-kah-tsi* have been abandoned in recent years, but several of them still exist. Among the Pi-kun′-i, the list—so far as I have it—is as follows, the societies being named in order from those of boyhood to old age:—

Societies of the All Comrades.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tsi-stiks′, | Little Birds, | includes boys from 15 to 20 years old. |
| Kŭk-kuiks′, | Pigeons, | men who have been to war several times. |
| Tŭis-kis′-tiks, | Mosquitoes, | men who are constantly going to war. |
| Mŭt′-siks, | Braves, | tried warriors. |
| Knŭts-o-mi′-ta, | All Crazy Dogs, | about forty years old. |
| Ma-stoh′-pa-ta-kiks | Raven Bearers. | |
| E′-mi-taks, | Dogs, | old men. Dogs and Tails are different societies, but they dress alike and dance together and alike.[1] |
| Is′-sui, | Tails, | |
| Ĕts-kai′-nah, | Horns, Bloods, | obsolete among the Piegans, but still exists with Bloods. |
| Sin′-o-pah, | Kit-foxes, Piegans | |
| Ĕ-In′-a-ke, | Catchers or Soldiers, | obsolete for 25 or 30 years, perhaps longer. |
| Stŭ′miks, | Bulls, | obsolete for 50 years. |

> The members of the younger society purchased individually, from the next older one, its rights and privileges, paying horses for them. For example, each member of the Mosquitoes would purchase from some member of the Braves his right of membership in the latter society. The man who has sold his rights is then a member of no society, and if he wishes to belong to one, must buy into the one next higher. Each of these societies kept some old men as members, and these old men acted as messengers, orators, and so on.
>
> The change of membership from one society to another was made in the spring, after the grass had started. Two, three, or more lodge coverings were stretched over poles, making one very large lodge, and in this the ceremonies accompanying the changes took place."[2]

In 1905 the writer gave a list and a brief characterization of these

---

[1] The statement as to similarity between the dogs and tails is evidently based on misinformation, see p. 388 and 395.

[2] Grinnell, 220-221, 222.

/367/

561 575 societies, mentioned here for completeness, he having gathered most of the data for this paper before that date. (1)

1. Wissler, (f), 173.

This origin myths were published in 1908. (2)

2. This series, vol. 2.

Of more recent literature we may first note two brief references by Schultz, (3)

3. Schultz, 115, 139.

a text by Uhlenbeck (4)

4. Uhlenbeck, 45.

and a rather full account by McClintock. (5)

5. McClintock, 441-465.

This latter is of unusual interest since it is the extended narrative of a single North Piegan informant and enumerates the kit-fox, mosquitoes, pigeons, all-brave-dogs, and braves.

The latest and perhaps the most ambitious account is by Curtis:--

> The men of the Peigan tribe were organized into a series of warrior societies in which membership was based on age. Arranged in the order of the age of their members these groups were: Doves, Flies, Braves, All Brave Dogs, Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kit-foxes, Catchers, and Bulls. As a whole they were known as All Comrades. The function of the societies was primarily to preserve order in the camp, during the march, and on the hunt, to punish offenders against the public welfare; to protect the camp by guarding against possible surprise by an enemy; to be informed at all times as to the movements of the buffalo herds and secondarily by intersociety rivalry to cultivate the military spirit, and by their feasts and dances to minister to the desire of members for social recreation. This was true more particularly of the companies composed of warriors in the full vigor of youth or middle age; but the ritualistic performances of those comprising the elderly men--the Kit-foxes, the Catchers, and the Bulls--seem to have partaken of the nature of religious ceremonies. Probably the members of these three did not perform police duty.
>
> When the various bands of the tribe first assembled in the spring, the chief invited the leaders of the societies to a feast, during which they discussed the general route of the coming summer's travel. An understanding having been reached, the chief appointed two or three of the younger societies to be the camp police for the season; and when the camp was moved again, the two leaders of each society thus honored pitched their lodges as one near the centre of the camp. These double lodges became the headquarters of the men on duty, a place of fraternal feasts and councils. Theoretically the societies chosen to control the camp were subject to the orders of the tribal chief, but their duties were so clearly defined that

/367 cont./

561 575 practically they were their own masters. The chiefs of the organizations named as guardians of the public welfare selected the camping places on the general route previously agreed upon; and differences of opinion in this matter were settled by a vote of all the police chiefs. As darkness approached, the camp soldiers shouted warnings that all should remain in their lodges after nightfall, for any man found prowling about, whether for the purpose of seeking a meeting with his sweetheart or attempting to play the wild pranks in which the youth took such delight, would be taken, beaten if he resisted, deprived of his robe, which would be slashed into ribbons, and sent back naked to his lodge. Some of the soldiers kept watch over the camp until sunrise, each man patrolling that portion of the camp-circle in which his own band /368/ dwelt, stopping at the edge of that section and meeting there the sentinel of the next band and exchanging signals with him....Guarding the camp at night was performed in turn by the societies appointed for the season's police duty. (1)

1. Curtis, 6, 16-18.

114 In the detailed accounts that follow this author gives many dates of origin and extinction as if the exact time had been determined for each case, but he doubtless means that these are his own approximations based upon the statements of informants. The few special points raised by this writer will be considered under their respective heads.

114 121 While the preceding accounts taken in their entirety give us quite a detailed account of the Piegan series of societies, they are still far from satisfactory to such a comparative study as we have in mind for this volume; hence, we have felt justified in presenting all our data even though there is some duplication.

561 575 Mr. Grinnell seems the first to call attention to the rank and age system of the all-comrade societies, and the implication that a man must enter through the lowest rank. We have discussed many aspects of this ranking with older Indians, seeking to arrive at a consistent view of its functions. No one seemed to have formulated the principles of procedure, except that there was a definite order of rank. It was generally agreed that this rank expressed the relative ages, or dates of origin, of the respective societies. Thus, the pigeons of the Piegan would be the most recent acquisition to the series, while the bulls was the first. Should a new one originate [554] it must stand below the pigeons. Our informants insisted that the greater worth of the bulls was chiefly due to their relative antiquity and in no wise dependent upon the ages and worth of the members. This may be but a native theory, but if such a conception is held by the leaders in society activities, it must be accepted by us as expressing the functional relations of the various ranks, even though its historical value be small.

/368 cont./

561 575 In any case we have a rank not based upon the qualifications of members but upon assumed seniority in historical origin. Yet the age qualification was not lost sight of, for our informants held to the rule that in joining a society one must secure the place of one's senior in age. This was not absolute as will be noted in the records of two Piegan Indians (p. 426) but seems to apply to most transfers.

[184] Under such a system it is obvious that the rank, or order, of succession must be fixed like the grades in an elementary school. The Piegan and the Blood divisions were able to enumerate their societies in such a definite series, but [128] among our North Blackfoot informants there was great difference of opinion as to the order in the list (p. 419). In consequence, the following

[text continues on p. 369]

table should be taken as tentative in so far as it applies to that division. In order to facilitate comparison we have arranged the lists in parallel columns. 561 575 [128] [184]

List of Blackfoot Societies.

| Piegan | Blood | North Blackfoot |
|---|---|---|
| Pigeons | —— | —— |
| Mosquitoes | Mosquitoes | Mosquitoes |
| —— | —— | Bees |
| —— | —— | Prairie-chickens |
| —— | —— | Crows |
| Braves | All-brave-dogs | All-brave-dogs |
| —— | —— | Bad-horns |
| All-brave-dogs | Braves | Black-soldiers |
| Front-tails | Black-soldiers | Braves |
| Raven-bearers | Raven-bearers | Raven-bearers |
| Dogs | Dogs | Dogs |
| Kit-foxes | Horns | Horns |
| Catchers | Catchers | Catchers |
| Bulls | Bulls | Bulls |
| —— | —— | Kit-fox |

It will be noted that Grinnell heads his list with the little-birds. Our informants objected to this on the ground that this was but a name for boys about to join a society, they having neither organization nor regalia. Others claimed that the name applied only to those preparing to join the pigeons, whence its significance. Since the pigeons are the first in order, these statements are not entirely contradictory. His list also differs in the rank of the front-tails and the raven-bearers, but on this point the list of Curtis agrees with ours. The two brave-dogs, though not properly a society were nevertheless regarded by our informants as belonging to the all-comrades and as ranking the dogs (p. 397). The existence and significance of this pair seems to have escaped other observers. 561 575 114

The only attempt at a list of Blood societies we have noted, is the one by Maclean previously quoted. He includes the kaispa (grass dance) which is certainly an error, since our Blood informants never regarded this dance association as one of the all-comrade series. Further, there is nothing in the article cited to suggest that the rank of these societies was exactly determined by its author. For the North Blackfoot we have no previous list, but a preliminary report on them was filed in the Museum by Dr. Robert H. Lowie in 1907.

561 575 625 Grinnell has called attention to the police and military functions of these societies. The innŏki (police, or catchers) is the name for one of the higher ranks, but we were not able to learn of any special functions assigned to them. Perhaps the name is of historical significance, implying a former dominance (p. 403). According to our information no society had a monopoly of police duty, but all of those containing able-bodied men were likely to be called upon by the head men to guard the camp for a stated period. For any occasion the chiefs would call upon one or two of the societies instead of calling in individuals. The pigeons, mosquitoes, all-brave-dogs, and braves were the ones most often called.[1] During the summer when the tribal camp was formed preparatory to the sun dance the societies were almost constantly on duty. While on the march, the van, flanks, and rear were each screened by a society acting under the orders of the leaders. When in camp at night one or two were assigned to stand guard and enforce the camp regulations. This applied also to the buffalo-hunt. In short the specific duties, modes of punishing delinquents, etc., were the same as described in the preceding papers. It should be noted that these societies were called upon for specific duties and could not act until so commissioned. Students of democratic institutions can doubtless see in the random assigning of the societies as well as their constantly changing personnel, a nice balance or check upon arbitrary personal power. Indeed it would be difficult to conceive of a more ingenious scheme to prevent the permanent seizure of power by a police or soldier organization. However, we are disposed to regard police functions as entirely secondary and ceremonial functions as primary in Blackfoot societies.

With this preliminary statement we may take up the detailed descriptions for the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot in turn.

## Piegan Societies.

101 [561] [575] The names and ranks of the Piegan societies were given in the introductory chapter.A No distinction is made between the North and South Piegan because their separation is entirely due to the accidental fact that part of the Piegan division now lives in Canada, and because the present system of

---

[623] [622] [203] [1] The All Comrades societies were the dominating factor in the tribal organization, and indeed the power of the head-chief depended largely on his cooperation with them. At the tribal council called by the chief, not only the chiefs and head-men but also the chiefs of the societies were summoned. These were called by name by the chief's criers, who were old men with strong voices. When the tribe was on the march the members of the warrior societies rode ahead, at the sides, and in the rear, to protect the others. The Braves, consisting of the oldest unmarried men, were always given the most dangerous position. — Curtis, 6, 16.

According to our information many of the braves were married men and in their prime.

A. [See Category 116, p. 366--Analyst]

societies was in full function at the time of this separation. It should be 101
noted, however, that the greater part of the following information was obtained [561]
among the South Piegan and is made the basis for the discussion of [575]
the data from other divisions.

### THE PIGEONS.

This society is composed of eight officers, an indefinite number of members, 561
and thirteen or more special functionaries, as follows:— 575

The leader (1)
The assistant leader (1)
The bear shirts (2)
The yellow pigeons (4)
The pigeons (x)
Old men comrades (4)
Single men comrades (4)
The drummers (4)
Women members (1)

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather tied on the back of his head and 561
carries a bullet-shaped rattle, painted red with a feather on the end. His 575
face and body are painted red. He clothes himself in ordinary costume; 796
that is, robe, breech cloth, and leggings but does not wear a weasel-tail or [237]
hair-lock suit. He carries a quiver of buffalo calfskin in which are four
arrows and a bow. These he never takes out in the ceremony. [302]

The assistant leader may dress like his superior but also has as his distinctive [534]
regalia, a skin of a coyote. According to some informants he carries
a bow and arrow which, however, he does not use during the dance. He [292]
carries a rattle, but not the whistle. His face and body are painted with [411]
yellow and red, that is, a yellow ground with a red bar across the mouth and
eyes. In the dances these two leaders do not leave their places, simply [531]
rising and dancing where they sit.

The pair known as bear shirts have duplicate regalia. They wear belts [237]
of bearskin about eight inches wide on which are seven bands of red cloth
and a bear tail. Their shirts and moccasins are made from the smoked tops [292]
of worn-out tipis. The shirts are slit and cut in rows. The latter are U- [531]
shaped cuts so that the loose ends hang down. The edges are fringed.
There are arm bands of bearskin, each with a claw attached. The moccasins
are heavily fringed around the edges of the soles and the ankles (Fig. 1).
The legs are bare. The body is painted red and marked down with the finger [302]
tips. The face bears the bear sign, black marks down over the eyes and at
the mouth corners. The hair on the forehead is cut short and combed
straight up. They carry a bow and four arrows, two of which have blunt [411]
points.

The four yellow pigeons wear no clothes except the breech cloth and [292]

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373)

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

575
●561
796
237
302
532
292
411

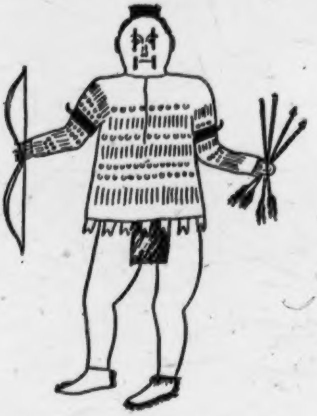


**Fig. 1.** **Regalia of a Bear Shirt in the Pigeon Society. The wide belt of bearskin is not visible. From a sketch by Big-brave.**

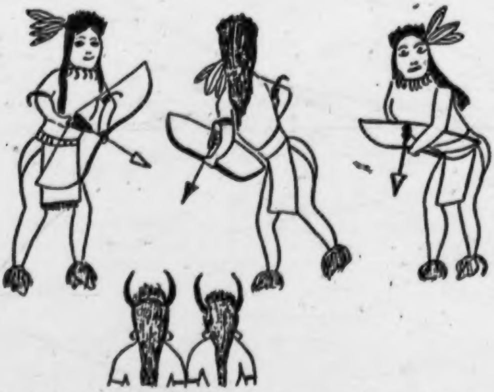


**Fig. 2.** **Regalia of the Yellow Pigeons. There are four of these in the society, of which three are shown in the sketch. Drawn by a Piegan.**

moccasins. Their bodies are painted yellow, even the hair. Some say they 561
were marked down with the finger. They did not have the red marks on 575
their faces like the leaders. They carried bows and arrows and wore eagle 796
tail-feathers on their heads. Their special functions seem to have been to [411]
serve the food at the ceremonial feast, to act as messengers or sergeants-at-
arms. On the back of their heads they wore eagle tail-feathers painted red [292]
(Fig. 2). [302]

The rank and file, or the pigeons proper, are not permitted to wear [237]
clothes, except as for the yellow pigeons. Should anyone come to the dance
tipi and refuse to go in the others would set upon him and tear his clothes off.
Their entire bodies are painted red. They carry bows and arrows, painted
red.

The four old men members enter the ceremony in regular daily dress. [302]
They carry nothing with them. As a rule, they paint their faces red. [898]
These men are taken in because of their experience in ceremonial procedure
and as one expressed it, "always to have some members who could count [887]
war deeds." They make all formal announcements, harangue the camp
when required in the interests of the pigeons, advise the members, adjust
disputes, etc. When the society sells out they tend to go with them in the
same capacity; thus they are truly old men comrades.

The four single men comrades are in this case very young boys, all the pigeons proper being unmarried men. They are taken in by their brothers or other relatives, already members, and may dance in their stead while they remain seated. These men paint and dress as the other members. Their designation is, of course, borrowed from societies of older men in which the members proper are of marriageable age.

The four drummers each has a drum in his hands. They are charged [534]
with directing the singing and during the dancing remain seated and drum
and sing. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is
proper to use drums or to beat a rawhide. Usually when singing and dancing,
members keep time by beating upon their bows with an arrow. Some
informants claim that this was the only kind of accompaniment used. The
best informant, however, seemed to favor the use of four drums.

There was one woman attached to this organization. We were told that, "she had no particular function, but was taken in as a member and danced with the rest." This will be better understood after reading the accounts of other societies.

The dance ceremony of this society takes place out-of-doors, the members [535]
arranging themselves as indicated in the sketch, Fig. 3. The opening in
the circle is toward the east. The four yellow pigeons sit on the north side
of this opening, while the bear shirts sit facing it some fifty feet distant.

561 The two leaders sit at the west side, while toward the center, facing east, are
575 the drummers. When all are in place the leader gives a signal, the drum-
796 mers make four passes with the drumsticks and strike once, upon which
all in unison give the call of the pigeon. (Some of our phonograph records show this to be highly realistic.) This is repeated four times. Then the songs of their ritual are begun.

[532]
[535]

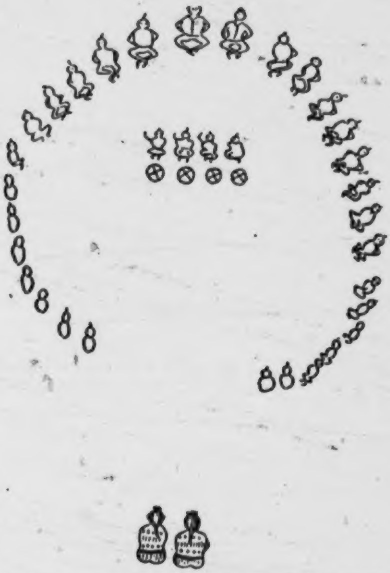


Fig. 3. Sketch showing the Position of the Pigeon Society in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

An informant says that at the beginning of the ceremony everybody is
seated, all singing and beating time on their bows with their arrows, the two
[237] bear shirts as well. This pair, unlike their representatives in some other
societies, do not rest their bows and arrows on buffalo chips and sage grass.
[535] In the dance the bear shirts and the yellow pigeons do not dance around sun-
wise, but in the opposite direction and around the other members, bunched
up in the middle. It seems that the bear shirts give the signal for the danc-

ing by rising in their seats. At this, the whole organization including the 561
leaders rises and dances. 575

Another informant says that during the dance all the pigeons dance 796
around in a circle the two leaders facing them. When the leaders turn and 535
dance with their backs toward the main body, this is a signal for the dance
to end. Then they dance toward their seats and when the leaders sit
down, they follow suit.

The society has three songs, one in which everyone joins, beating time [533]
on their bows with their arrows and the drummers on the edges of the drums
with their sticks. The other two songs are dance songs.

When they sit in their places and sing, the pigeons beat time by striking
arrows on their bows. At the proper moment all, except the bear shirts,
rise and dance in a circle, each with a drawn bow, the arrow pointed down-
ward. The four yellow pigeons dance in the center and as the ring of dancers
threatens to close in, they threaten them and pretend to drive them back
to their seats. Then after an interval of singing the two bear shirts take a
hand. On the ground before them rest their bows. They lean forward
holding their heads out like bears. As those in the circle rise to dance, the [237]
spectators throw buffalo chips at the bear shirts, at which they raise their
heads, holding their closed fists at their cheeks and growling like bears.
This is repeated once. They rise, take up their bows and dance into the
circle, driving the dancers back, then dance outside and drive them to the
middle again. This is repeated four times in all. When food is brought in
the bear shirts growl and take it; the others wait and eat what remains.
The signal for closing the ceremonies is given by this unique pair, they dis-
charging their blunt arrows at the sky.

The usual time for these ceremonies is early in the morning.

Maximilian does not mention the pigeons. This may have no signifi- 561
cance, for the society is regarded as of comparatively recent origin, the latest 575
historically.[1] So far as we know, any male may enter this organization by 796
purchasing the place and regalia of another; but it is considered a youths' 
order. Such purchase may occur at any time, but the tendency is for the 432
whole organization to sell in a body to a new group of younger fellows. The
individual sellers and purchasers must be paired off; hence, it is not un-
usual for some members to hold over for want of a purchaser. This trans-
fer is a formal affair comparable to the transfer of medicine bundles. A [346]
shelter is made by combining two tipis, in which the organization assembles.
Each purchaser enters with a pipe, which he offers to individual sellers

---

[1] Bear-skin, about 75 years old, says that he was a charter member of the pigeons in his [115]
eighteenth year. It was then originated by an old blind man, Ghost-boy, who dreamed it. [787]
This would make the date about 1853.

561 until it is taken and smoked. This act pairs them. A few old men, pre-
575 sumably former members, are called in to officiate, they having full charge
796 of the ceremony. The following narrative may be given as a type:—

432

> When I went into this tipi I had a pipe full of tobacco. I offered it to a man by the name of Bear-head. I told him the reason for it. I wanted his rattle. He was assistant leader. He took the pipe from me, held the stem up in the direction of the sun and prayed. Then he lighted it and smoked. All those who went in with me did the same. When all had finished their smoke, Bear-head began to paint me and give me the rattle, etc.

The purchasers are instructed by the sellers and coached as long as necessary. For all such services fees are in order. Other societies are certain to challenge the pigeons to athletic, gambling, parade, and other contests in which each member is expected to do his utmost.

[578] After a dance they sometimes run about outside the camp, where they annoy the women carrying water by shooting through their buckets.

### THE MOSQUITOES.

561 The organization of this society is similar to the preceding. It is as
575 follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| The leader (1) | The old men comrades (4) |
| The yellow mosquitoes (4) | The single men comrades (1-2) |
| The mosquitoes (x) | The drummers (4) |

561 The leader wears an eagle tail-feather on the head. His face and body
575 are painted red with a black band across at the level of the bridge of the nose.
796 He wears a buffalo robe, hair side out.

The four yellow mosquitoes are each painted yellow with a red band
[237] across the nose. They wear feathers in the hair and robes, hair side out.
[302] On each wrist is tied an eagle claw, representing the mosquito's bill.

The mosquitoes paint in red, wear plumes, but otherwise dress as the
[292] above four. The four drummers use half of a rawhide to beat upon.

[534] The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothes during the ceremony, blankets, leggings, etc. They have no special regalia.

The number of single men comrades is said to vary, sometimes being two and sometimes four. It was stated by an informant, that single men were taken in in this capacity by some of their relatives. Sometimes, older men it was said, are backward about dancing or taking part in the ceremonies whence they sometimes have one of their young relatives entered as a single man comrade. Thus the member can remain seated while his young representative dances in his place. Young boys may be taken in in this way.

The single men comrades dress and paint like the other members. Again, 561
the society itself may take in the son of a chief or other prominent man so 575
that they may receive food and other assistance from the family.

The dance ceremony opens with a parade in single file around the outside 796
of the camp circle, sun-wise. Having completed the circuit they proceed to 561
the center and sit in a circle. The four drummers sit in the middle before 575
their pieces of rawhide. 796

When dancing they move in single file, forming a circle. While doing 535
this the four yellow mosquitoes march in single file to one side, thus with the main body, forming two lines. At this time, there is neither singing nor dancing. The drummers do not march with them but proceed directly to the place they select for dancing where they seat themselves. Then the files approach and form a circle around the drummers, the leader at the head with two of the yellow mosquitoes on each side. The other members sit in the circle where they wish. At the end of each song they all squat down, with heads low, making a buzzing noise like mosquitoes. When seated they lean forward and draw their robes over their heads. After four dances they again circle the camp and scatter along the outside. Anyone falling in their way will be scratched with the eagle claw. They say, "Now, I shall get blood from you." Their rule is to do the opposite of their victims' appeals; thus, if asked to be let off, they will scratch brutally; if told to be severe, they touch lightly. If a man takes off his shirt and invites them to take their fill, he must not be touched; likewise, if a woman bares her arms. They must not invade tipis or the bounds of the camp circle.

The usual way is for the mosquitoes to sell out to the pigeons. A 561
shelter is made by combining two tipis. Some old men are invited to con- 575
duct the transfer, or selling out. This is conducted in a manner similar to 432
that for the pigeons.

Most of the members are single men, but being married is no bar to [346]
entrance. They usually marry before selling out for the simple reason that they are of proper age.[1]

### THE BRAVES. 561

The organization of this society is as follows:— 575

- Leader (1)
- Willow brave (1)
- White braves (4)
- Black braves (4)
- Bear braves (4)
- Braves (x)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (4)
- Drummers (4)

---

[1] Maximilian, 116.

561 The leader carries a small bulb rattle, half painted red, half blue, a
575 feather attached to the end and a wristlet of otterskin. On the head he
796 wears a feather hanging down behind, painted red, the quill end wrapped
[534] with wire. He wears a buckskin suit with weasel or hair-lock fringes. The
right half of his face is painted blue, the left red; black bands around the
[237] wrists. He carries a short lance, Fig. 4.

[292] The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow

[302]
[411]
[531]

561
575
796
411
237
824
531

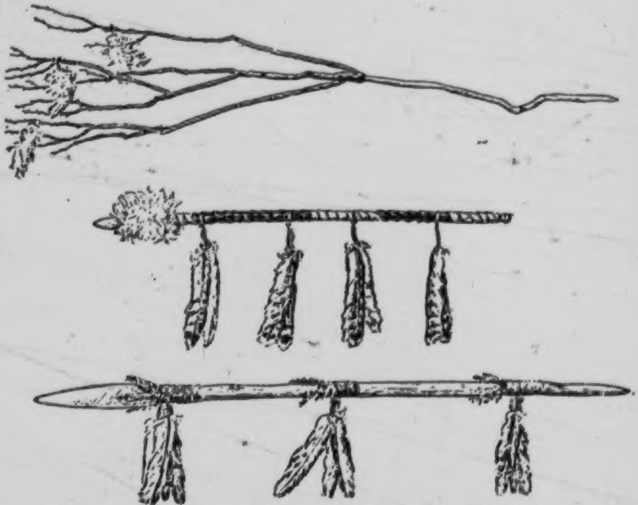


Fig. 4 *a* (50-5582), *b* (50-5573), *c* (50-6161). Standards used by the Braves: *a* The Willow Brave's Staff; *b* Lance for the Leader; *c* Lance of the White Braves.

561 The one called willo brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow
575 branch to the ends of which are tied yellow painted plumes. (Fig. 4.)
796 His robe has no hair, but is fully tanned.

The four white braves wear breech cloth and moccasins. Their bodies
[824] are painted white; under each eye four black marks and across the thighs,
[237] calves, and arms a pair of black marks. Around the ankles, neck, and head
[292] are wreaths of four sage stalks each. Their robes have no hair, have the
corners fastened up and a curious hole in the back reminding one of the
[302] Arapaho crazy-dance regalia. Eagle feathers are carried only by the white
braves, the braves proper using hawk feathers. All wear robes but when

they rise to dance they leave them at their seats. They carry lances, 561 ●
painted white and decorated with four pairs of feathers and bunches of sage 575
grass. (Fig. 4.) The ordinary bone whistle with quill-wrapped neck cord 796
should be added. [292]

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothing and are without
regalia of any kind. Their functions are similar to those of the preceding [411]
societies and while they have no particular costume at the time of the cere-
mony, they use the painting of the lay members. [237]

Single men comrades vary in number from one to four and are taken in
as described in the preceding, both as substitute dancers and in order that [824]
food may be obtained.

The four black braves carry lances covered with black cloth and deco- [534]
rated with black feathers. Their bodies are painted black. Their cos- [411]
tume is similar to that of the preceding. On their backs they wear a bladder
or pericardium painted black and distended by air; this is called a water [302]
pail. [237]

The two bear braves are similar to a pair noted in the pigeon society.
They cut the front hair and paint it. The costume is also the same. Here,
they wear robes with the hair on. On the head, they tie a bunch of prairie- [237]
chicken feathers. They carry bows instead of lances (Fig. 5).

The braves wear neither shirts nor leggings. They paint with dark red [302]
paint with black marks, as noted for the white braves. Their lances are [292]
painted red.

No drums are used by this society, but time is kept by beating upon one [411]
piece of rawhide. According to one informant, the drummers are "ex- [533]
members in ordinary costume." [534]

In the ceremony an open circle is formed with the four drummers in the
center. The leader sits opposite the opening and facing him on the outside, 561
the two bear braves. The white braves sit on the outside. (Fig. 6.) When 575
at rest the braves stick their lances in the ground points down; the white 796
braves hold theirs with points up. The leader directs the dance. He blows 535
his whistle a certain way as a signal, then rises. All those bearing lances [534]
rise, dropping their robes. Leaning forward with the points of their lances
near the ground, they dance. The step is a slow alternate lifting of the
feet. The leader's position is fixed, the others dance facing the four direc-
tions. The white braves on the outside dance in with threatening lances
and crowd the braves toward the center, passing entirely round and round.
The black braves have black blankets which they wear during the dance,
but dance as the others. Willow brave dresses like the lay members but
sits next to the leader.

The two bear braves sit quietly as in the pigeons until aroused by the [237]

561 throwing of buffalo chips. They then dance into the center; holding both
575 feet together and keeping a squatting position, they hop along with drawn
796 bows, driving the dancers back to their seats.

535 These evolutions are given four times then the bear braves shoot into
[237] the air and all throwing their robes over their left shoulders pass single file
out of the southwest side of the camp circle, march entirely around it,
then run to the north a mile or more. When they stop, they take off their

561
575
796
535
292
411
237
531

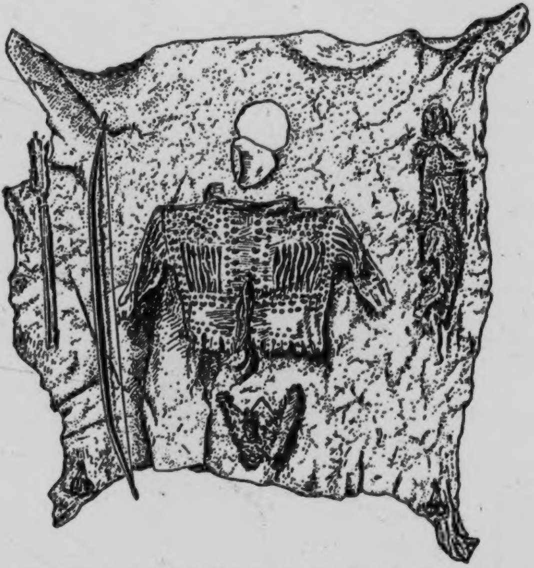


Fig. 5 (50-5581, 5578, 5576, 5577, 5732). **Regalia of a Bear Brave: A Robe with a Hole; a Belt of Bearskin with a Bear Tail attached; a Shirt and Moccasins curiously Gashed and Fringed; a Bow and Four Arrows.**

561 moccasins and throw them up into the air. Then they line up and march
575 back, barefoot, holding the lances up before and singing. They pass around
796 the camp circle and enter their tipi, sticking the lances up at the back.

[535] This ceremony always occurs in the open air. When they dance in
their tipi at night, the affair is social and hence, different.

[346] At times the ceremony was held in a tipi pitched inside the camp circle

formed by combining several covers. The members of the society did not 561
live in this tipi or stay there so far as we could learn. At other times they 575
may make a practice of regularly meeting at the tipi of a member, frequently 796
that of willow brave, where they dance and hold other ceremonies as may be [346]
desired. At the close of each ceremony they return to their own homes,
however.

When food is brought out for the dance feast, it is set down by the willow brave. Then the bear braves come forward, growling, but as they are about to eat, the black braves croak like ravens. Then they retreat but return to eat. When they have finished, the others eat. At any time the bear braves

561
575
796
535
532

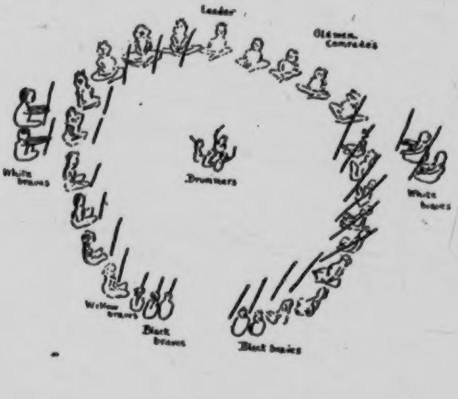


Fig. 6. Sketch showing the Positions of the Braves in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

may meet the returning hunters and take what they choose. They go out 561
accompanied by two braves, bearing a tipi pole, upon which the meat they 575
seize is strung. [796]

The mosquitoes usually buy into this society, though anyone may so [432]
join. The majority are married men and probably range in age from twenty to thirty years. Grinnell considers these warriors of the first class; but on this point we have no data save that they are to be distinguished from the foregoing societies as married men. It was said that after marriage a man

561 usually sold out his place in the mosquitoes. They transfer to the all-brave-
575 dogs, all at the same time.

796 Regarding the casting off of moccasins, one informant says this running
[432] out was to look for buffalo and that when they were sighted the braves
threw away their old moccasins and put on new ones. He narrated that once when so doing, the braves were surprised by enemies: the leader seeing the case hopeless, gave orders to dance, when they formed the circle and began. After watching them for a time the enemy seemed impressed with their medicine powers and retired.

[114] Maximilian does not name the braves, yet they must have existed at that time. However, his account of the "soldiers" leads us to suspect that he confused them with the catchers for he says:—

> They are the most distinguished warriors, who exercise the police, especially in the camp and on the march; in public deliberations they have the casting vote, whether, for instance, they shall hunt, change their abode, make war, or conclude peace, etc. They carry as their badge a wooden club, the breadth of the hand, with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle. They are sometimes forty or fifty men in number. Their wives, when they dance the medicine dance, are painted in the same manner as the men.[1]

### THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

561
575 The organization of this society is as follows:—

- Leader (1)
- Assistant leaders — horsemen (2)
- Bear-all-brave-dogs (2)
- All-brave-dogs (20)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (2)
- Drummers (4)

561 The leader wears a coyote skin with his head thrust through a slit in its
575 middle and in addition the best costume he can get, such as weasel-tail,
796 hair-lock suits, and war-bonnet. He always wears his blanket across his
[292] left arm and carries his rattle in his right hand. He paints his nose, mouth,
and chin red which is spoken of as the coyote painting.

[237] Ranking next to the leader are the mounted men. For the ceremonies
[302] they secure the finest horses possible and also the best suits including, if
[237] possible, the war-bonnet with a tail. The horses are painted on the hips,
neck, and face with symbols indicating the war deeds of the rider.

[534] The two bear-all-brave-dogs are now familiar characters. They are
[411] the only ones with bows and arrows. They wear a peculiar headdress

[292]
[237]
[531]

---

[1] Maximilian, 117.

(Fig. 7), consisting of a narrow strip of skin with bear ears and two small 561
horns (bear claws) attached. At the top, the hair is arranged to suggest 575
the cropped hair of the analogous pair in the pigeons. They wear shirts 796
made of white cloth which reach the waist, are fringed around the bottom [292]
and have short sleeves with long fringes. On the forearm, just below the [237]

[531]
561
575
796
292
237
302
531

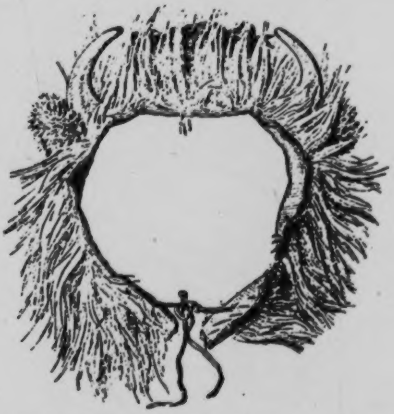


Fig. 7 (50-5730). Headdress for a Bear-all-brave-dog.

[532]

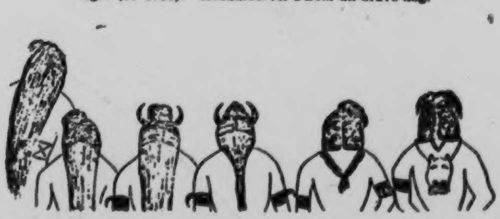


Fig. 8. Sketch showing the Costumes of the All-brave-dogs: the Leader on the Right, the two Bears in the Middle. Drawn by a Piegan.

sleeve, a narrow strip of bearskin with a bear claw attached is worn. The 561
shirt is painted red on each shoulder. A beaded belt, breech cloth, mocca- 575
sins, a belt full of cartridges and a knife, make up the costume. For paint- 796
ing they use the bear-face, that is, red ground with black marks down from [292]

[531]
[237]
[411]
[302]

561 575 the eyes and corners of the mouth. When at home, each keeps his ceremonial bow and arrows tied up near the door of the tipi.

[796] [302] [431] In former times if at any time the bears saw any one coming in with meat, they would intercept him. The bearer of the meat would dismount and stand by quietly while the bears helped themselves to the best cuts, sometimes taking all. It is said that if the owner of the meat sees them in time he may himself give them, horse, gun, meat, and all; the bears take the presents home and afterwards announce to the society that presents have been received. In the course of time the giver of these presents will receive liberal return from the various members.

561 575 264 There seems to be some kind of a taboo for the bears as to passing food at a feast. Thus, it is said that if the chief or head man should have guests in his tipi and there is among them one of the bears who still owns his membership, the woman must pass the food to each man and not permit it to be passed on from hand to hand as is the usual custom. She must do this because the bear is not permitted to pass food or to take any notice of a request to do so. If the presence of the bear should not be known and food be passed in the usual manner, the bear will take no notice of the dish. However, should he be asked to pass the food he will take possession of it and eat it all himself without speaking a word. So it is the duty of the hostess to note the presence of one of these bears and to act accordingly. An informant says, "These bears are always after grub. They even go to meet the hunters to take their meat." While, as indicated before, the bears have the privilege of taking meat whenever they desire it, this is never done in the absence of the owner, that is, they are not permitted to enter a vacant tipi and help themselves to what may be found there.

561 575 796 535 [292] The four drummers have no particular costume but wear their blankets tied around their waists hanging down so as to leave their arms free. In the procession they are in the rear. In this procession the members form in line by two's, the leader at the head. They dance entirely around the camp. Every now and then the dancers turn and face the drummers at the rear, dancing backward and forward. As they move about the camp they may stop and dance in front of certain tipis. Here the usual procedure is to form a circle with one of the bears on each side of the "door." (Fig. 9.) The drummers always sit at the head, the leader next to them on the north. The mounted men are next in order, one on each side.

There are no women attached to the society as in those previously mentioned, but as the members are all supposed to be married men it is expected that their wives appear at the formal ceremonies to assist in the singing. They have no particular costume or painting, each one following her own taste. An informant recalls one case in which a man made a vow that when married his wife should dance in his place during the ceremonies of the

all-brave-dogs. This is the only case known in which such substitution 561
was offered or in which the woman became a member of the same standing 575
as the single men comrades. When the society is marching around the
camp the women may follow in the rear and may sit behind their husbands 796
during other parts of the ceremony. It seems, however, that a woman may 535

[532]

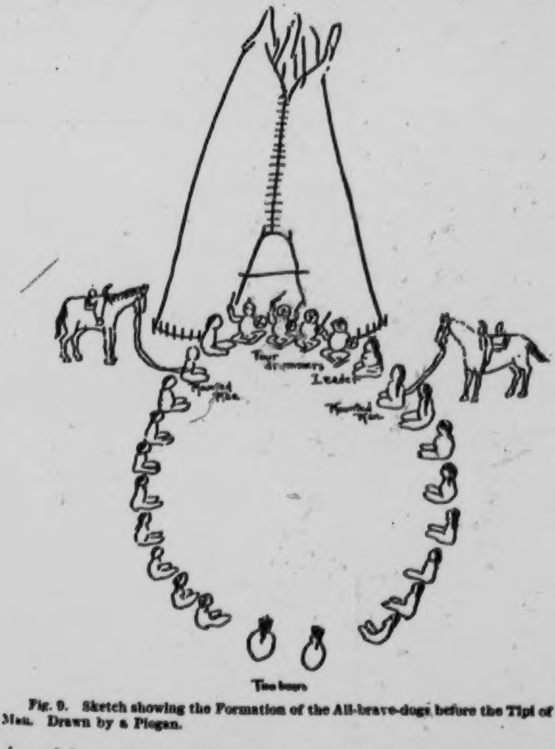


Fig. 9. Sketch showing the Formation of the All-brave-dogs before the Tipi of a Head Man. Drawn by a Piegan.

rise and dance with her husband at certain parts of the ceremony, if she so desires, and may even take his rattle in her hand and perform evolutions with it. This seems quite likely, since similar practices are found in the rituals of various medicine bundles (Volume 7).

575 The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also
561 one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the cere-
[276] monies. There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar
[554] smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy
his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any particular official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and
are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that
[424] there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay
[432] member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course,
of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay mem-
[292] bers have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left
[237] arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each
wears a feather.

[534] An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the paint-
ing upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their
[531] painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the
[302] painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic
significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the
copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin.
[796] When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the
former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will
count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the
[787] rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person
who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this
way.

[887] The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the
various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride
[203] about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired.
[534] These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear
a feather at the back of his head.

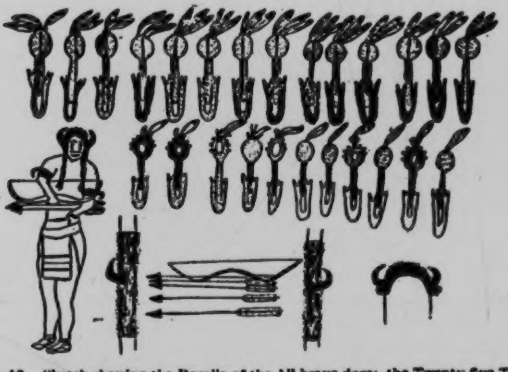
[292] The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such
[237] as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to
which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society
[556] usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine
costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the
society.

[796] A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This
[535] is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal 561
dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9). 575

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride 796
around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them 535
down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the
feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance.
This is done but once.

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number 561
of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter 575
means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake 796
their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used. 533
[539]



561
575
796
534
237
411
292
302
532
531

Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the 561
camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other 575
presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet [431]
they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when
on regular guard duty.

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are 561
supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a 575
particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as de- 432
scribed in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the 424
same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased [778]

561 at any time. Thus, one may approach a member of the society with a
575 filled pipe. When he takes this and smokes, the offer to purchase the
432 membership is made and cannot be refused. The transfer ceremony is
424 then performed and the purchaser becomes, by virtue of his ownership,
a member of the society. It is said that now and then a man becomes tired
of his membership and solicits a purchaser to whom he transfers his rattle.
These were regarded, however, as unusual since the rule is for the whole
society to sell out at once.

561 Maximilian does not distinguish this society. Some Piegan assert that
575 it was introduced by the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago and that these in
174 turn got it from the "Black Indians"(?). On the other hand, no society
of this character has been reported for the Gros Ventre. We have so far
encountered no Blackfoot origin myth for it. The preceding societies have
definite myths and are believed to have appeared first to the Blackfoot.
This is curious, since they seem more recent than the all-brave-dogs and yet
bear an obvious resemblance to it.

## THE FRONT-TAILS.

561 Our informants are not agreed as to a formal leader for this society, but
575 there seems to have been a leading pair at least. Its organization may be
given as follows:—

Leaders (2)
Front-tails (x)
Old men comrades (?)
Single men comrades (?)
Pipe keeper (1)
Drummers (4)
Women members (?)

561 The front-tails do not braid the hair but allow it to hang free. An eagle
575 tail-feather, trimmed with quills and small bells, is tied on the head crosswise.
796 Narrow garters of otterskin, decorated with quills and bearing bells, adorn
[302] the legs. The chief regalia, from which they take their name, are belts, or
scarfs. On the right side of the belt is an appendage, formed by wrapping a
[237] stick one hand long with the skins of two buffalo tails. This was bound
[292] around the middle with red cloth and some beading of large white and blue
beads. To one end is attached a fringe of buckskin, weasel fur, and red
[531] cloth, with bells at the ends. This is the "buffalo tail seen from the front."
The ends of the sash hang down on the left side (Fig. 11).

[302] The entire body is painted black and marked down with the fingers.
Small dots of white are made on the joints, the cheeks, forehead, and chin.
Across the eyes is a band of red and again across the mouth.

Drums are used, but no whistles. 561

The faces of the women members are painted like those of the men. 575

The formal ceremonies were usually held early in the morning, "Because 796
the buffalo get up early in the morning and go down to drink." Out-of-doors 535
they sit in a circle, each man's wife, or corresponding woman member, sits
directly behind him. The men dance in pairs, holding hands with the free [534]
hand on the hip. (Fig. 12.) All the pairs face the same way, except the [825]
leaders. The latter always keep in the reverse direction. The dancing is
said to be in imitation of the buffalo. The four drummers come behind 561
with the women, who assist in the singing. After a dance, they rest and 575
smoke; this is repeated four times. When they are about to begin, the 796
drummers strike four times and at each all shout, "Ho-o-o-o!" Before 535
each rest there is one shout. It will be noted that the members carry
nothing in their hands.

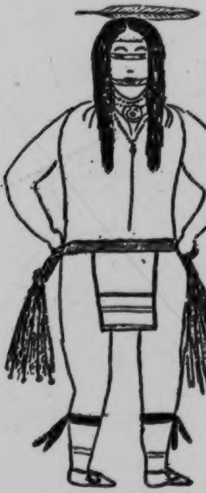


Fig. 11.

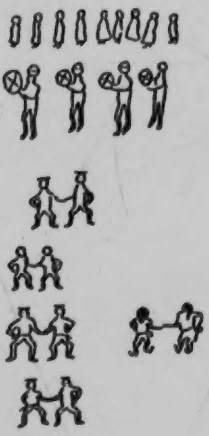


Fig. 12.

561
575
796
535
237
292
302
532

Fig. 11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail.
Fig. 12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails. Drawn by Big-brave.

The transfer of membership is well described in Mr. Duvall's notes obtained from Big-brave:—

561
575
796
432

561

575 At the age of eighteen, Big-brave, joined his first society, the front-tails. As a
796 rule each society takes as members four young men and four older men. Big-brave
432 was taken in as one of the younger members. To begin with, all the men who were
[424] to buy in, went through the camps and invited their chums and when all were gathered
together, they proceeded to the center where two tipi covers were combined to
make one large tipi. Upon entering the lodge all the men who were about to become
[114] members had filled pipes, which they offered to those of the old members from whom
[115] they had chosen to buy. All the members of the front-tails are supposed to have
women partners, usually their wives; but as Big-brave did not have a wife, he went
[346] with his mother.

Each purchaser sat down near the man from whom he expected to purchase.
[237] The buyers cleared the grass in front of the old members and placed some buffalo
dung and sage grass on the side nearest the old members. The smudge place was
[824] about a foot square. All the new men made a smudge place near the old members.
Sweetgrass was used for the smudge. The knives or axes which were used in clearing
the smudge places were a part of the fee paid the old members.

The old (ex-)members did not transfer their outfits to the new members themselves, but still older members did this. The pipes were offered first to the members, to make the bargain to purchase from them.

Big-brave sat near one of the members and offered him a pipe to smoke. At first
he refused to take the pipe, but finally he took and smoked it. Big-brave thought
that the man was afraid he would not get a horse from him as he had just received
one the day before, therefore his hesitation. Then Big-brave made the smudge
[302] place and the transferrer asked him to remove his clothes. When he had done so,
the transferrer painted his face and entire body black and scratched the paint down
with his fingers. The mother's face was also painted. A streak of red was painted
across his eyes and mouth and small dots of white on his cheeks, forehead, and chin
and on all his joints. His new clothes were first passed over the smudge four times,
[292] and then given to him to put on. The transferrer then took up the otterskin which
is used as a garter strap, spat on it four times, passed it four times to the smudge
[237] place, and before tying it around Big-brave's leg, recounted four war deeds. The
[531] strap was a narrow strip of skin decorated with small bells and quill work.

During the entire ceremony, the transferrer had a piece of prairie turnip in his
[824] mouth, and before fastening anything on Big-brave spat four times on it. This is
the same kind of turnip as that used by the horns in their ceremony. It is said to
[778] be very sacred.

Then the transferrer took the feather which was used as a headdress, spat on it
[292] four times, made four passes over the smudge with it, recounted four more war deeds,
[237] and fastened it crosswise on Big-brave's head. The feather is an eagle tail-feather,
wrapped with colored quills and has a hole in the middle through which is passed a
[531] buckskin string with which the feather is fastened on the hair. Then he took the
belt of the front-tails, held it to the smudge place four times, spat on it four times,
told of four war deeds, made four passes with his knife and cut off a few inches of the
tail. After this he fastened the belt around Big-brave's waist and as he did so all
cheered him. The tail of the belt hung on the right side. A blanket was also given
him and a digging-stick was placed near Big-brave's feet. As he rose and stood by
it his foot was held by the transferrer and passed four times to the smudge; then he
stepped over the digging stick, going forward twice and backward twice. A dog was
brought in and placed before his feet and he stepped over it four times.

All the new members went through the same actions as Big-brave and each transferrer related four war deeds before fastening the trappings upon the new member. Big-brave paid a horse and some blankets as a fee for buying into this society. 561 575

When Big-brave and all the other new members were dressed and painted and had stepped over the digging-stick and the dogs, they all stood up in their places with their wives and mothers or women partners. The drummers struck their drums once; all shouted, and then the drums were again struck. After the fourth time the members sang and danced in their places inside of the tipi. At first they danced facing the center, then facing the wall, then the center, and then the back. Each new member was given a drink of water by the old members' wives, the new members paying for their drinks with blankets, guns, or a horse. After this they all sat outside of the tipi in a circle and danced as before. After the dance, all returned to their homes. 796 432 [534] [535]

Big-brave says that that evening the one who transferred to him, came to his tipi and a smudge was made. As Big-brave was to eat, the transferrer took a small piece of the meat, spat four times on it and after making four passes to the smudge with the meat, placed it in Big-brave's mouth, thus giving him the privilege of eating his food. [264]

The next day all the new members and some of the transferrers went out on a hunt. When they had killed a buffalo, the transferrer showed them how the backbone was broken and the buffalo tail cut off. Thus they were granted the privilege of cutting off the buffalo tail or butchering and cutting the backbone in two when they wished to do so. This completed the transfer ceremony. [224] [424]

During the dances and when they are seated in a circle outside the tipi, their wives sit at their backs. During the butchering ceremony the new members had to pay a fee, which consisted usually of arrows or other small articles.

In passing, it may be said that the detailed features of this transfer are common to many serious ceremonies of this kind, a discussion of which will be found in Vol. 7.

We have recorded the origin myths for this society. A version will be found in Vol. 2, 112. In one not published we find the same story with some variation. It opens as follows:— 561 575 539

There was once a young single man who always carried a stick around with him, like a gun rod. On the end of this stick was a small leather cross which was called the butterfly. One day, when the buffalo went over the drive and were milling around in the enclosure, the young man happened to be standing by and poked his stick under the tail of a buffalo cow. When he drew his stick out, he saw that the leather cross had come off. The cow jumped over the fence and ran away.

Otherwise, the narrative is similar to the version cited. Our informants have a conviction that the ceremony was originated by an Assiniboine who saw buffalo dancing. They recalled that some visiting Assiniboine once marched about their camp, singing the front-tail songs to the surprise of all. 561 575 173

### THE RAVEN-BEARERS.

561 The organization consists of:—
575

Leader (1)
Assistant leader (1)
Black-raven-bearers (1)
Raven-bearers (40 to 100)
Pipe keeper (1)
Drummers (4)

561 The leader carries a long red stick, trimmed with a strip of red cloth, to
575 which feathers are fastened. His head is thrust through a slit in the back of
796 a coyote skin. The head of the coyote is still attached. For a headdress he
[292] wears a single tail-feather. His face bears the coyote painting (p. 398).A
There is no special costume, he usually wears his best clothes. According
[237] to one informant the leader is said to have worn about his neck the
[531] skin of a raven. One was collected on the Blood Reserve (Fig. 13). The
[302] wings have been decorated with strips of porcupine quill work and from the
beak hangs a strip of red flannel, probably to represent the tongue. We were
[532] also given a peculiar necklace made of imitation bear's claws carved from
buffalo horn. This was also stated to have been worn by the leader. Other
informants claim that the bird was worn only by the black-raven. According to White-man, the leader wore a coyote skin around the neck with pendant feathers in bunches, consisting of six eagle feathers and one crow feather each. The end of the crow feather was cut square. A rattle was also carried by the leader.

[531] The assistant leader carried a staff similar to that borne by members,
[302] except that it was entirely red. Otherwise his costume was similar to that
of the leader, except that in painting he wore a red band across the eyes and one across the mouth.

[531] The black-raven-bearer has a staff trimmed with black cloth, but fringed
[237] with human hair. According to most informants he paints his face over with
red (though some maintain blue), marking down with the tips of the fingers
[302] and dotting the forehead and cheeks with white spots to represent the
raven's excrement.

[531] The raven-bearers carry sticks trimmed with alternating pieces of black
and red cloth (Fig. 14), bearing feathers and bells.[1] They paint their faces
[302] red with a pair of small white spots on the forehead, cheeks, and chin.

For the ceremony they sit in a circle with their sticks on end. As songs
[535] are sung, they shake them to sound the bells. When dancing they carry
their robes on their left arms and hold their sticks up in front, inclined forward. The drummers stand, as for the front-tails.

---

[1] Maximilian, German ed., 578, gives a drawing of this emblem.

A. [See Category 116, p. 398--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 395]

561●
575
796
237
531

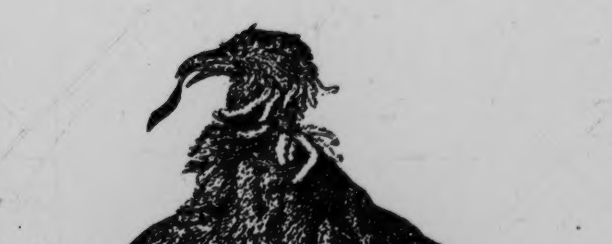


Fig. 13 (50-5419a). Skin of a Raven worn by one of the Raven-bearers.

[p. 393]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

561
575
796
531
237

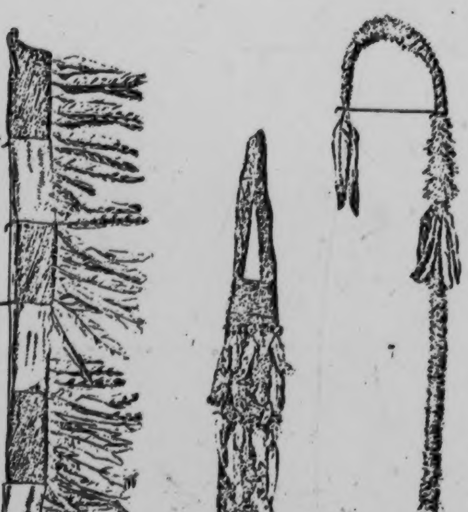


Fig. 14 (50-5411, 5728, 5726). Emblems of the Raven-bearer, the Dog, and the Kit-fox Societies, respectively. Length of a, 283 cm.

### THE DOGS.

The organization is as follows:— 561 575

The Black-Dog (1)
Assistant Leader (1)
The Black-dancers (2)
The Dogs (40)
Old men comrades (2)
Single men comrades (3–4)
Pipe keeper (1)

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair 561
fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered 575
with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made 796
from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and [292]
there with feathers.

According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the [237]
Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to [631]
him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl
feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to [184]
whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society
had but one leader, known as the black-dog.

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that [292]
it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers [531]
instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those described
above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits [231]
or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, [534]
fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The
dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while 561
the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to 575
the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until 796
the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the 535
dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, [431]
the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing
this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the
society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied.
According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about
the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet.

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although 561
as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the transfer 575
ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he 796
432
[173]

561 was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the pur-
575 chaser could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter
796 as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a
wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident.
432 Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was
173 still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians.
582 All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who
by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 397]

561
575
796
292
237
531

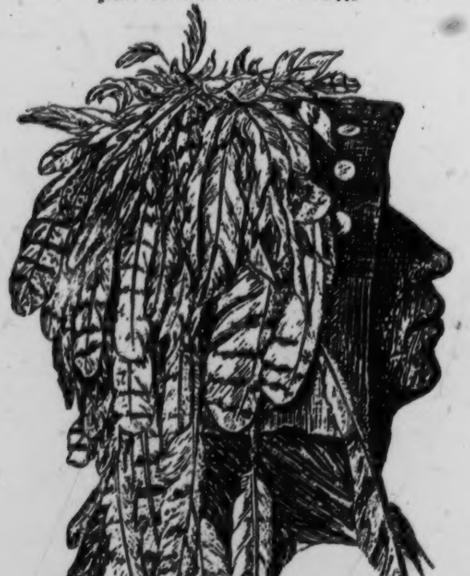
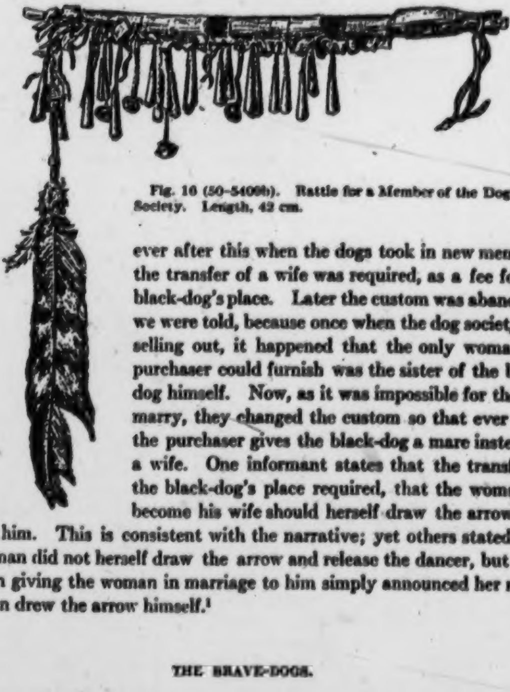


Fig. 15 (50-5409c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

561

575
his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the 796
arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that 432
173
582



561
575
796
534
237
531

Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

ever after this when the dogs took in new members, 561
the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the 575
black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned 796
we were told, because once when the dog society was 432
selling out, it happened that the only woman the 173
purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black- 582
dog himself. Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.[1]

### THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (motsomita) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote- 561
brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two indi- 575
viduals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the 124
all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

---

[1] See also Curtis, 6, 26.

561 support of this they call attention to the fact that this pair dance around
575 through the camp at the same time and in the same manner as the other
124 societies.

Their regalia consist of a small bulb rattle to the handle of which is
561 attached a coyote tail and a bunch of feathers for the head. No eagle
575 feathers were used. Bone whistles and a coyote skin around the neck com-
796 plete the list. Big-brave, the present owner of one set also has a drum.
[534] This drum seems to be a special medicine object and to be used only by and
in connection with the ceremonies by a brave-dog. Our informants state,
[237] however, that this drum was originated by Big-brave and was not pre-
[292] viously a part of the regalia for the brave-dogs and is not recognized or used
[778] by the other member.

The brave-dogs usually paint the entire body in white. The face is
[302] given the "coyote painting." The entire lower part of the face is painted
[825] red. This painting was sometimes spoken of as "eating raw meat." In
explanation, it is said that when a coyote has been eating, his mouth and nose
are generally red with blood, and that also he is lucky and usually gets his
meat whenever he looks for it.

561 The obligations taken on by the brave-dogs are rather exacting. They
575 must never under any circumstances run away from the enemy or turn
726 back. If enemies appear in their paths, they must walk straight forward
regardless of the consequences. In battle they are supposed to stand in
front of the enemy and dance and sing. However, if their companions
desire to save them they may release them from the obligation by whipping.
Thus in fighting, a friend may ride up and strike the brave-dog with a whip
and at once he runs away. For example we were told that,

> Running-buffalo, the father of Elk-horn was a brave-dog. Once there was a fight between the Blackfoot and the Assiniboine in what is now the southern part of the Montana Reservation. The Assiniboine were in a hole and hard to get at. Running-buffalo rode up, got off his horse, and with his rattle in his hand, singing the brave-dog songs, went directly to the hole and jumped in among the Assiniboine. His war party followed close at his heels and succeeded in routing the enemy. All brave-dogs are believed to have great power. Once Running-buffalo was shot through the abdomen with three or four arrows. He asked that some buffalo intestines be cooked for him, saying that he would use them to replace the injured parts of his body. He ate them and recovered.

561 Like all other societies and medicines, the brave-dogs had their own songs
575 and their dance. The sentiments expressed in the songs are in keeping with
539 their obligations. For example one of them runs, "I want to throw my
body away." Another "I want dogs to eat my body." They have a song
in which they ask for arrows, and while singing it they go into any tipi and
take an arrow from each quiver they find therein.

While anyone could buy a place in the brave-dogs, it seems usual for men to buy in after having passed through the dogs. At the time of the transfer ceremony the purchaser is required to sleep out in the brush four nights in imitation of dogs or coyotes. 561 575 [432]

The following statement of Big-brave may be of interest:— [424]

> All those men known as brave-dogs were very brave men. They used to dance around the circle of camps and enter a man's tipi and would take one of his arrows, but if a man did not want them to take any of his arrows, he would go out, meet them and whip them away. Then they would turn away at once. In their songs they say "I want dogs to eat my body," meaning that they are not afraid to die. When approaching the battlefield they use their rattles, sing their songs, blow their bone whistles and stand fast, unless they are whipped back by some of their people.

According to some informants the owners of the brave-dog ritual were younger than the dogs, the former being about forty years of age. But, on the other hand, it was stated that anyone could become a brave-dog in the usual manner, that is, if he took a filled pipe and called upon one of the owners with an offer to purchase. When the man took the pipe and smoked it, the transfer took place. [432] [424]

## THE KIT-FOX.

Kit-fox was the name of an extinct Piegan society still regarded as very powerful and dangerous to speak of. Thus Grinnell writes, "Of all the societies of the I-kun-uh-Kah-tsi, the Sin-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the strongest medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here."[1] In the main it is correct to regard the horns and kit-fox as one organization, but on the other hand our informants report some important differences to be enumerated later. A brief paragraph on the kit-fox is given by Curtis.[2] We previously gave a version of the origin myth in which occurs the following passage. "She had no dress on, but just a robe around her. She wore a plume on her head, and held a prairie-turnip in her mouth."[3] The full import of this will be made clear in our account of the horns. [194] [114] [173]

Owing to reluctance of informants, we were unable to obtain a concise account of the kit-fox organization. The main leader wore the entire skin of a kit-fox, with the head before and the tail behind. Around the neck and legs of the fox skin were strands of beads. Small bells were tied to the feet. Four eagle tail-feathers were stuck up on the top and one at the tip 561 575 796 [292] [237] [531]

---

[1] Grinnell, 222.
[2] Curtis, 6, 26.
[3] Vol. 2, 121.

561 of the tail. The whole skin was liberally daubed with the "seventh paint."
575 Brass buttons formed the eyes of the fox. This leader also carried a bow
796 and arrows, thoroughly coated with the same red pigment. His body was
[292] also painted red, a blue band around each wrist and a band of blue around
[237] the face, but of a different form from that used by the horns.

There was a second, or associate leader, wearing a similar headdress and
[531] bearing a bow. His person and regalia were, however, painted over with
[302] yellow with corresponding marks in red. He is called the yellow fox.

Next in rank were two mounted men, spoken of as the single men com-
[411] rades. They carried hooked lances about ten feet long, wrapped for almost
[237] their entire length with otterskin. At four equally spaced places they had
wrappings of goose skin with a pair of eagle feathers. The curved portion
[531] of the lance is formed by a twig, bowed and held by a sinew cord. To the
end of this bow are fastened two eagle feathers (Fig. 14).[A] The butt of
the lance is sharpened for planting in the ground. These men wore weasel
skins around the heels of their moccasins. One informant states that one
of the pair rode a black horse.

[411] Of the next order, was one man bearing a hooked lance of much greater
[237] length than the others and wrapped with swan skin, having four places
covered with otterskin and bearing feathers as just described. This was
[531] called the white lance.

[411] The lay members carried curved lances, but these were not wrapped.
[237] They, however, bore feathers as just described. One informant claims
that a few of these lances were painted white. Each member had a small
[531] pipe painted red (p. 413).[B] They could paint in blue, red, or yellow, but
[276] must each use the same mark around the face. They were required to be
[302] fully clothed in all ceremonies, but could wear any costume at hand. Their
moccasins were, however, without strings and always contained a sprig of
[292] sage.

[276] According to one informant the society had three large ceremonial pipes,
or perhaps three large pipes in contrast to the small ones used by other
[124] members; but we have never heard of special ceremonial pipes for this
society, as for the catchers.

[346] For the ceremonies a shelter was made by setting up a circle of tripods
supporting horizontal tipi poles. Tipi covers were then stretched round the
sides. When dancing in public they formed a three quarter circle with the
opening toward the rising sun. Inside near the rear were four drummers.
The two horsemen sat one on each side of the opening in the line. The
[535] lances were planted in the ground before their various owners. The public
ceremony was opened by the drummers, who made four feints with their
sticks, then struck the drums and gave the characteristic yell, upon which

[A] [See Category 116, p. 394--Analyst]

[B] [See Category 116--Analyst]

the songs began and the members rose to dance. There seems to have been 561
no special form of dance, but at times they crowded into a mass, at others 575
formed in files and again in half circles. They always held their lances at a 796
forward angle. The rule was to dance at various intervals as the camp was
circled. The two riders mounted and crossed back and forth in front of the 535
leaders to reverse them (p. 412). A When the procession again reached the
starting point the two riders dismounted and joined in the final dance.

The following account of this public ceremony is from McClintock:—

> When the kit-foxes gave a dance, they opened up two large lodges and made [346]
> them into one. For four days and four nights they sat inside, painting and dressing
> themselves, singing and making ready for the dance, only appearing at night, outside
> of the dance lodge. On the fifth day they marched through the camp. Their chief [272]
> wore the fox-skin, with the head made into the form of a hood. The nose was in
> front, the ears on the top and the skin, with bells fastened to the tail, hung down his [237]
> back. The face of the leader was painted green, to look as frightful as possible and [302]
> inspire the spectators with awe. The second in rank, called the White-circle-man,
> carried a spear, with one end bent into a circle. It had bells attached, and was [411]
> covered with white swan's down and white plumes. The third held a spear of the
> same shape, covered with white feathers, but fringed with black and red plumes. [531]
> The rest of the members carried pointed spears, covered with otter skins ornamented with feathers and bells. The kit-foxes all painted their faces. They wore, for garters around their legs, wide bands of otter skins, with bells attached, and an eagle feather, decorated with red, green and yellow, in their back hair. White weasel-skins were also attached to either end of this feather, while a strip of otter skin was suspended from its centre. When they marched through the camp they formed in the shape of a fox head. The chief went first standing for the nose. Behind him were the second and third men for the eyes, and then came the rest of the society in a group, all together representing a fox head. The two second-men, as the eyes, watched the chief, who was the nose, or leader, and acted just as he directed, the rest following after. When they were ready to dance, they sat in lines. In the first line were the regular members. If there were men withdrawing from the society, or giving their spears to new candidates, they sat in the second line, while the wives of the members sat behind. As soon as the drum began, the chief started the dance. The two circle men with the white spears followed. After them came the other
> members, with otter spears. They danced in pairs, — the same way that kit-foxes [825]
> run together. They gave short regular jumps with their feet close together, imitating the movements of a fox, barking and moving about, first in one direction, and then in another, just as a fox does. The two second-men (eyes) danced between the two lines, barking and swinging their spears. They did not move in straight lines, because the fox never goes straight. His tail always seems to guide him. When the white-circle men shouted, 'That is enough,' the dance ceased and they all seated themselves. After a short rest the dance was continued.[1]

Some of the songs run: "Fox says, four times I am going to run. Days [539]
are my medicine; they are powerful. Nights are my medicine; they are
powerful."

---

[1] McClintock, 446–447.

A. [See Category 116--Analyst]

437 The ceremony within the enclosure is chiefly that of the transfer.[A] For
561 this four days and nights were required. The incoming members were
required to abstain from sleep during this entire period. During the night
575 they often paraded about the camps, occasionally shouting. A curious
796 thing is that during this period they are forbidden to scratch themselves
[784] with the fingers but are given scratching sticks. Should they use the fingers
they will become scabby and vermin-infested like the kit-fox. At no time
561 must fox hair be burned in a member's tipi and no rabbit meat cooked at his
575 fireplace. McClintock states that members were not permitted to kill or
[789] trap the kit-fox.[1] According to Grinnell, "if they were at war in summer
[825] and wanted a storm to come up, they would take some dirt and water and
rub it on the kit-fox skin, and this would cause a rain-storm to come up.
In winter, snow and dirt would be rubbed on the skin and this would bring
up a snow-storm."[2]

[302] Unlike the horns, the wives were not members; but they were painted by the former members in the manner described for the horns, to give them the power to care for and handle their husbands' regalia. We obtained no account of this ceremony, further than the belief that it was identical with that of the horn society (p. 410). The notion that the women were not members may, of course, be but a difference in point of view, since their functions in the kit-fox seem to have been about the same as in the horns.[3]

[173] In closing, it may be noted that we find a tradition that the kit-fox as here described was the result of an ancient union between two other societies. What these were, we did not learn. Big-brave says he saw the last kit-fox dance some fifty years ago, but that for many years several of the lances were kept and transferred as other bundles. The lances and headdress were often carried to war as individual war bundles. In former times, only members were permitted to touch the lances or any other part of the regalia.

## THE CATCHERS.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leaders (2)
Pipe men (2)
Tomahawk men (2)
Catchers (x)
Drummers (4)
Women members (x)

---

[1] McClintock, 416.

[2] Grinnell, 202.

[3] Bear-skin and Big-brave state that the horn and kit-fox societies were the same in most respects. Their lances were alike, the women were "painted" the same way, but what is more to the point, the kit-fox songs are sung in the horn ceremonies.

Maximilian (German ed. 577) notes both the kit-fox and the horns, giving the hooked staff as the emblem of the former and asserting that the latter wear "thin horns."

A. [See Category 116, p. 401--Analyst]

The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem 561
to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed 575
their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine. [411]

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a
black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely [778]
around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or [302]
hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that
the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and [292]
chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose. [531]

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though [124]
the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their
rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present 796
owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that 432
of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The 276
pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular 778
medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers
society and the iniskim (buffalo rock). [561]

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:— [575]

> First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and
> singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then [539]
> he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs,
> "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe [539]
> and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then
> make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and
> placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe,
> holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, [539]
> the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the
> drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it.
> Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle [302]
> around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing
> the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, [535]
> everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and
> dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the
> north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice
> towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as
> he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before,
> until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child
> present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout [534]
> and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed
> back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is
> tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

796 request for the transfer of the catchers pipe. He must also give the owner
432 a horse at this time. The next day the transfer ceremony begins, requiring
four days. Each day the bundle is opened and the ceremony just described
276 performed. At present the purchaser is required to pay ten head of horses,
778 blankets, clothing, etc., but in olden times, five head of horses were all they
[435] paid. (Vol. 7, 159.) An informant states that the two catchers pipes were
formerly quite peculiar and did not resemble the other pipes. Now,
however, the rituals are much the same which he attributed to the fact
that they had been transferred many times and that each owner tended to
add or modify the ritual according to some vision or dream.

● 561 The tomahawk men dressed in plain painted buckskin suits, but wore
575 buffalo robes with beadwork at the two upper corners to which tie-strings
[292] were attached. In the middle of the robe was a large beaded cross. The
function of the tomahawk men is to stop fighting or other boisterous conduct
[531] in the camps. It is said that they are always certain to turn up whenever
[625] there is trouble around.

According to one informant, the tomahawk men carried symbolic axes
[532] or hatchets carved out of wood while the members carried clubs covered
[411] with buckskin fringes and white beads, with buffalo and deer hoofs at the
ends of the fringes to serve as rattles. In Maximilian's account of the
[237] leaders we find the following:— "They carry as their badge a wooden club
[531] the breadth of a hand with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle."
(117.) All the members wore buckskin suits and robes.

[796] In the formal ceremony they sit in a circle with four drummers in the
middle. After the dance they go about the camp and tear up the robes of
anyone they chance to meet. In the dance the pipe men dance first. As in
most other societies the dance is repeated four times.

[625] When the catchers are sent in pursuit of a delinquent or misbehaving
tribesman, he may escape them provided he can get into a position in which
none of the members overcame an enemy. Thus, if he wades into the water
on foot, he cannot be touched except by such members as have overcome
an enemy in the water on foot. If he rides into the water he must be taken
by a member who has dismounted an enemy in the water, etc.

## THE BULL SOCIETY.

The oldest one of the series and the highest in rank is the bull society. It has been many years since the last ceremony and scarcely anyone alive now even saw their dance. Fortunately, the peculiar belief about war-bonnets discussed elsewhere (Vol. 7, 116) tended to preserve the ritual.

Our chief specific information was obtained from two informants whose 561
narrative we give in substance. 575

According to Red-plume the bull society originated in a dream: — [173]

> A man once dreamed that he was invited to a ceremony. He felt that the persons dancing there were transformed buffalo bulls. One of them said to him, "We invited you here to show how to do this ceremony. We shall give (transfer) it to you." So the dreamer watched and noted all. Then he went home. A long time after this dream he called the people together and told them the story. He asked them to help him start the society. They agreed and so the bull society began.

The leader of the society wore a straight-up bonnet with a tail also bearing feathers. 561
The latter are spoken of as "boss ribs."[1] This seems to be the same general 575
type as used by the horn society.

Two members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore headdresses made 796
from the horns and hairy skin of the buffalo; also robes with the hairy side out. Their
position in the dance was at the end of the line, or something like the bears in the [292]
brave society.

There were two young unmarried men members. They wore caps of otterskin [237]
with a few erect eagle tail-feathers behind and before.

The lay members seem to have been of two classes; those wearing straight-up bonnets and those wearing horn bonnets.

In the dance they formed two abreast, the leader at the head and the scabby 561
bulls at the rear. The two young members occupied outlying positions on the 575
flanks. They sat in this position in the open before they danced. The four drum-
mers were stationed some distance in the rear. Their first formation was always 796
some distance outside of the camp circle. After they had lined up, they waited until 535
a horseman performed a curious ceremony.[2] As he set out he carried some robes
and other valuable property. He acted as if the bull society were real buffalo, being
careful to keep away from the wind until he had the line between him and the camp.
Then he dismounted and kindled a fire with buffalo chips. All this time the men in [372]
line were on their knees making dancing motions with their bodies, accompanied by the drummers and singers. As soon as the smoke rose, the men in the line turned to look at it. The rider mounted, shouted, and rode toward them. At this, the bulls started forward on a trot, while the musicians followed, singing and drumming. The horseman rode along on the flank. When he shouted, all stopped and looked at him. Then he threw down one of the presents he carried and shouted as before. At this the line started on again. This was done four times.

Then the rider drove them to a watering place. As the dancers neared the water, he dismounted and standing to one side of the line took up four stones. Then he counted four war deeds and gave a horse to some one (not a member). Then he threw a stone into the water at which the bulls ran back. The bulls again approached and were again frightened. At the fifth attempt, they drank.

After this they proceeded to the camp circle where they formed in a circle and danced like the other societies.

---

[1] Vol. 7, 114.

[2] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says this was a young man. Our informant says he must be a very distinguished man and wealthy and not likely to be young. [114]

561 The bull society became extinct because of a curious belief. The originator
575 warned them that if a dancer fell, he would soon die. It so happened once that two
[787] dancers fell and died very soon thereafter. So the people ruled to omit the ceremonies.

[173] All the war-bonnet bundles used now, came from the bull society and when
transferring them, the bull songs are rendered.

An old man named Boy says his father saw the bulls dance and handed down an account of them, as follows:—

561 They were the most ancient society. One of the leaders wore a robe hair side
575 out and a headdress made from the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns polished.
292 The left horn was painted blue with a blue plume at the tip. The right horn was
painted white. The other leader wore a straight-up feather bonnet without a tail.
531 Weasel fringes hung from the sides. On the front was an arrow, about the length of
237 the forearm. This was fastened crosswise and with weasel fringes at each end of the
796 feathering. The arrow, the bonnet, and feathers were well daubed with red paint.
[411] As to the arrow, it is said that once in a fight with the Crow Indians the leader of the
bulls was wounded by an arrow so he symbolically painted the headdress red (blood
color) and tied an arrow upon it. He also wore a robe hair side out.[1]

[535] The dance formation for the society was two abreast. The two leaders were in the front rank, but just back of them was a single individual. He wore a straight-up feather bonnet painted red but without the arrow. On the left side of the bonnet band was a brass disc. Behind this man ranged the members two by two. At the rear sat a lone man known as a scabby bull. He wore a robe minus the hair in patches as the name indicates. On his head was the entire skin of an otter, forming a band with the head and tail behind. At the front and back are fans of eagle tail-feathers. Weasel tail fringes hang down at the sides and the back. The band of otterskin is about six fingers wide. On the left side is a brass disc about four inches in diameter mounted on a larger disc of rawhide with fringes of weasel fur. The edges of the rawhide disc are beaded.

The members wore robes with the hair side out and straight-up bonnets with tail pieces and erect feathers. These are called "boss rib" bonnets.

561 When dancing they snorted like buffalo, turning their heads from side to side,
575 but keeping in line. They also pretended to hook each other. Four drummers were
796 placed at the rear. On one flank was a rider supposed to be driving the buffalo to
the pound or to water. Now and then he shouted and dropped a blanket, four in all.
535 These represented the piles of rock forming the lines to a drive.[2]

The things thrown down were left for the poor and aged who collected them.
At the start the dancers moved slowly, then on a trot, and finally on a gallop like a
herd of buffalo when pursued. The rider drove them to a watering place, but threw
[411] a stone in to scare them back as they pretended to drink. At last he fired a gun and
threw it away for the poor. This ended the dance.

At other times, the musicians built fires of buffalo dung. When the bulls smelled the smoke they danced off in another direction. Again, the society sat in a circle and danced like the braves.

---

[114] [1] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says a pointless arrow was worn but our informant is positive that the arrow had a metal point, in short, a real arrow.

[2] Vol. 5, 35.

All the war-bonnets we now have came from the bulls and in transferring the same 561
the songs of this society are sung. 575

The importance of this society may justify the full presentation of still [173]
another account by Big-brave:—

When Big-brave's father was quite a young man he saw the bull society. The 561
following is his account of it as told by Big-brave.

One morning the people moved their camp a short distance away, only the mem- 575
bers of the bull society remaining behind. When the camp was pitched an old man 796
called out, saying that someone must ride back and drive the bulls to the camps and to the water. One of the chief warriors taking some blankets with him rode back on a fine pinto horse to drive in the bulls.

The bulls all wore buffalo robes with the hair side out and painted with white 561
earth in spots to represent mud. Many wore horn bonnets while some wore buffalo 575
head wool bonnets which had small feathers fastened to them. One of the leaders 796
292
531
237
[532]
wore an otterskin cap with its edges decorated with bands of blue seed beads, while at four sides were quill-wrapped feathers decorated with bits of weasel tails at their tips. The width of the cap was two hands. Four pieces of some fungus growth
which is found on trees in the north were attached to this cap. The other leader wore [411]
a straight-up war-bonnet similar to those made nowadays with weasel tail fringe and feathers, but with an arrow about the length of the forearm placed horizontally across the front. It is called "the bonnet which was struck with an arrow" and after the bull society was discontinued was used a great deal in war.

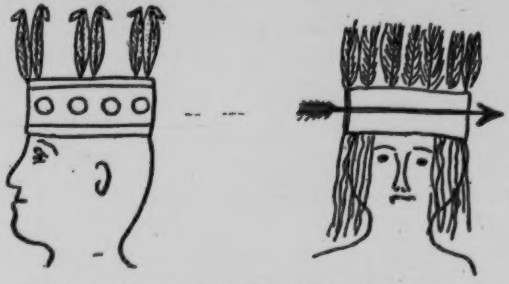


Fig. 17. Headdresses worn in the Bull Society. Drawn by Big-brave.

Two of the members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore robes that were either poorly dressed or with the hair partly worn off to represent scabby bulls. They usually followed behind the others.

When the man riding the pinto horse approached the place where the bulls were, 561
he made a fire a short distance from them on the leeward side. He started the 575
fire with a flint and steel. As soon as the smoke reached the bulls, they all looked 796
in the direction of the fire, the rider mounted his horse, shouted four times and the 535
bulls rose shaking themselves and pretending to hook one another. Finally, they
[372]

561 started off slowly, repeatedly looking back at the rider while their wives brought up
575 the rear. Four men drummed and sang for them as they marched in the direction
796 of the camp. Some of the songs ran as follows: — "The ground is our medicine; it is powerful. The wind is our medicine. Man, I want to hook."

535 The messenger rode alongside the bulls and dropped a blanket in their path to head them off. These blankets were picked up by others who followed behind.

When they came near the camp the bulls were driven toward a lake and then another man was asked to splash the water for the bulls as they drank. The man who splashed the water was a chief. He took four buffalo dungs and counted four war deeds. While he counted, some of his kin threw down near him blankets and other valuables to honor him. These things were taken by the bystanders.

As the bulls began to drink he threw a buffalo chip into the water. This frightened the bulls and they turned back. Again, he threw in a buffalo chip and again the bulls turned back. This was repeated four times and then the bulls drank, ending their march to the water.

[787] During this march one of the scabby bulls fell. Not long after this he was picking berries with some women when he was attacked by the enemy and killed. It is said to be bad luck for one of the members to fall during the march or dance.

[173] Big-brave said that they usually dance after being watered but that his father did not see them dance. All the war-bonnets used nowadays are said to come from the bull society.

561
575
[114] While these accounts do not agree in all their details, they are in general accord. Bearing in mind that the last member of this society died many years ago, we are fortunate in receiving even these fragments. Curtis[1] denies that the bulls were a part of the regular series, but our informants were positive that they were. Since among neighboring tribes the bull society was one of the series and usually of the highest rank, we accept these statements as correct. We have also the testimony of Maximilian,[2] Grinnell, and McClintock in our favor.

In the account of the horns we noted Running-wolf's theory that the society had assimilated parts of the bull ritual. It will be noted that the headgear credited to the bulls is very much like some horn society regalia in contrast to that of the kit-fox.

---

[1] Curtis, 6, 28.

[2] Stomick (die Bisonstiere, les gros boeufs). Sie bilden eigentlich den ersten, d. h. ausgezeichnetsten aller Vereine, und sind die ersten im Range. In der Hand tragen sie ein Medecine-Zeichen mit Bisonhufen behangen. Wenn sie bei ihrem, besonderen Gesange tanzen, so rasseln sie mit jenen Hufen. Um die Polizei zu handhaben sind sie zu alt; denn sie sind durch alle Vereine hindurch gegangen und man betrachtet sie als gleichsam im Ruhestande. In gewisser Art sind sie von dem Vereine der thätigen und angesehenen Soldaten schon wieder hinabgestiegen. Bei ihrem Medecine-Tanze tragen sie auf dem Kopfe eine Mütze von den langen Stirnhaaren und der Mähne des Bisonstiers, welche lang herabhängen. (Maximilian, German edition, 578–579.) A

A. [See p. 408-A for translation--Analyst]

561 [Stomick (the bison bulls, the big bulls). They really form
575 the first, i.e., the most distinguished of all the societies,
[554] and are the first in rank. In the hand they carry a medicine-
sign hung with bison-hoofs. If they dance with their own
[237] special songs, each one rattles these hoofs. They are too
old to handle the job of policing: for they have gone through
all the societies and are now considered on the retired list.
In a certain way, they have already come down again from the
[292] societies of active and respected soldiers. At their
[237] medicine-dances they wear on their heads a cap made from the
long forehead hair and mane of the bull bison, which is long
and flowing. (Maximilian, German edition, 578-579)--Analyst
translation]

## BLOOD SOCIETIES.

As in the case of the Piegan, our Blood informants were definite and con- 561
sistent in the order and rank of these societies. Reference to the list (p. 575
366)^A shows them parallel to the Piegan series except that the places of the 184
all-brave-dogs and the braves are interchanged. Then instead of the
front-tails we find the black-soldiers and for the kit-fox, the horns. Two
organizations are missing, giving the Blood division a smaller series.

The mosquitoes use tipi covers turned inside out to form the shelter for [346]
their transfer ceremony, but in all other respects resemble the Piegan
society.

Though boys of any age may enter the mosquitoes they must be of marriageable age, or young men before they are expected to join the all-brave-dogs. Our informants make no mention of the two bears, but credit the two leaders with a similar costume and the bearing of bows and arrows. Otherwise, the organization is similar to that of the Piegan.

As to the braves, all-brave-dogs, dogs, and raven-bearers, no important differences from the Piegan came to our knowledge.

### BLACK-SOLDIERS.

Unfortunately, our information on this organization is meager. The 561
members were said to carry daggers, wear no clothing (except breech cloth 575
and moccasins) and to paint their bodies red. Around the ankles were 796
strips of coyote skin. There was also a cap or headdress, consisting of a 292
band of coyote skin with a pendant tip at the rear (see Vol. 7, 99). An 237
eagle feather is placed on each side of the cap, suggesting horns. 531

There are two leaders each wearing an entire coyote skin over the shoul- [302]
ders. Another important officer is the keeper of the pipe. In the ceremonies he rides a horse, holding the pipe and wearing the headdress, feathers, etc., making up the regalia of a regular pipe owner (see Vol. 7, 138). In the dance he rides into the circle and when dismounted (p. 387) joins in the dance.

When the camp circle is formed the pipe keeper pitches his tipi inside 561
the circle. If the society is called upon to render police service neither he 575
nor the two leaders take part in the forcible restrainment or punishment [625]
of offenders.

A. [See Category 116--Analyst]

## THE CATCHERS.

● 561 575 796 [411] [531] [237] The catchers have two pipes spoken of as the black-covered pipes (see Vol. 7, 159) whose keepers are regarded as the leaders. The members carried a curious club, spoken of as an ax (Fig. 18). It is nothing more than the broken end of a tipi pole, painted red, and trimmed with a bunch of buffalo dew claws.

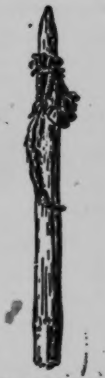


Fig. 18 (50-5410a). Club carried by the Catchers. Blood. Length, 68 cm.

[276] [292] [531] [237] According to one informant the pipestem is covered with eagle plumes and four bunches of tail feathers. The owner wears wristlets bearing small iniskims (buffalo rocks) and some human hair. On the head he wears a fan-like bonnet of owl feathers to the top of which is fastened a small iniskim. With the pipe there is a buffalo chip enclosed in a pericardium. A specimen will be found in the collection (50-4534b). The pipes should rest on this when being smoked, but if such were not at hand an ordinary buffalo chip was substituted.

[302] The painting was described as a black hand across the mouth and chin.

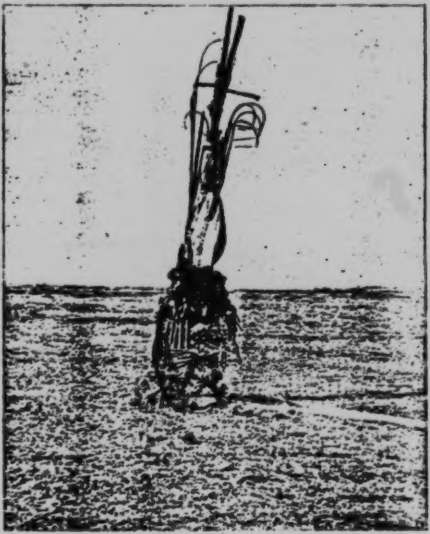
[625] When acting as police the members cannot enter water to make an arrest in consequence of which one may escape by riding into a stream. The pipe keepers do not perform police service.

## THE HORNS.

561 575 [184] [124] [126] [796] [782] [114] While the corresponding society among the Piegan has long been extinct the horns still flourish among the Blood. There are many members among the North Blackfoot and the North Piegan and a few among the South Piegan, but so far as we know, the ceremonies are rarely held except on the Blood Reserve. We never saw any of the ceremonies but collected some of the regalia. It is the custom of the society to give a public ceremony at the sun dance and to offer their unwrapped hooked lances to the sun. We saw these still in place on the sun dance field (Fig. 19). Owing to the universal fear of this society and the secrecy of its ritual, we experienced some difficulty in securing information and specimens of regalia. The latter and all the general information was given the writer by various Blood Indians, but the secret part of the ceremony was obtained by Mr. Duvall from two informants whose narratives we present in full.

The following is the statement of a Blood woman who had herself taken part in the ceremonies:— 561 575

The members of the horn society are regarded as very powerful men and women. It is very dangerous even to talk about them and one must not tell what is done in the society; ill luck will surely befall him if he does. The ceremonies are secret. [784] The power of members is so great that to wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed to bring the realization. Among the Blood, the fear of the horn society is still so great that in court proceedings it is usual to take oath by them, that being the most solemn oath. Thus, a man will swear, "I will speak the truth by the horns." [695]



561
575
796
782

Fig. 19. Photograph showing the Offerings of the Horn and Ma'toki Societies on the Sun Dance Field (1903).

Like other societies the rule is for all the members to sell, or transfer at the same time. This transfer usually takes place in the summer. Both men and women belong, usually husbands and wives, though the latter seem to have a minor part. 561 575

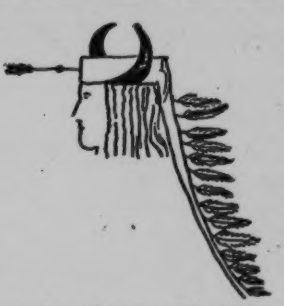
There are two male leaders. They wear similar regalia; weasel tail shirts and leggings with bonnets bearing horns and tails. One of these bonnets bears a small arrow, sticking straight out in front. (Fig. 20.) [292] [237]

Next in rank are two men wearing "straight-up-bonnets." (One of these was [531] [796]

561 secured, Fig. 21.A It is of the head band type with a fringe of weasel tails.) Each
575 of these men carries a small bulb rattle with large wrist guard and streamers of ribbon
292 at the end. Their clothing is of no fixed form, but should be elegant.
237 Of lower position is a single man wearing a cap made of swan skin who also can
531 dress up to his means. His distinctive badge is a staff, or lance, about seven feet
796 long, painted yellow and sharpened at one end. To it is strung a strip of flannel in
[533] sections of black and white. In the ceremonies this lance is planted in front of its
bearer and is spoken of as the "mighty lance."

There are two mounted men, one on a black horse, the other on a white one.
[411] They are spoken of as the "ones who ride back and forth." The one on the black
horse wears a black suit and uses a black saddle. His face is painted red and he ties
[302] four owl tail feathers in his hair. The one on the white horse wears a weasel-tail suit and paints the face red. Sometimes he wears a white hat. Both men carry hooked lances about eight feet long. The one on the black horse carries an otter-wrapped lance with occasional bands of swan skin, while the rider of the white horse carries one wrapped with white swan skin with occasional trimmings of otter. Four eagle tail-feathers are strung on each.

[411]



[532] Fig. 20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society. Drawn by an Informant.
←

One of the lay members carries the entire skin of a running fisher, stuffed and with brass buttons for eyes. The other members carry hooked lances also wrapped with otter fur and trimmed with swan skin.

Four drums are used in the public dances which occur in the day time, in the open air about the center of the camp circle. The members sit in a three quarter
561 circle with the opening toward the east. At each end of the crescent is set up one
575 of the lances borne by the mounted pair. These are spoken of as the white and black
796 hooked lance respectively. The two leaders sit at the middle, or west part of the
535 circle, and the two rattle bearers to their left. The so-called "mighty-lance" is set up inside in front of the leaders. Those of the members are planted in front of their respective seats. The wives of the various members sit just behind, thus forming a second circle. The men rise and dance, holding their lances forward, dancing around in a circle to their right while the two rattle bearers move to the left. Though they keep moving in the same direction they face now to the rear, now to the front. The drummers keep their places in the center. The women remain seated also. The two horsemen do not use horses here. Also each member is free to paint as he elects. The public is permitted to gather and look on.

561 The transfer, or ceremony proper, is a secret affair. First an enclosure is made by
575 setting up tipi poles and stretching over them enough tipi covers to form a screen.
796 The old members are now to sell out entire and in secret elect their successors. A
432 party then makes a round of the camp bringing in by force the men chosen, also their
[346] wives.[1] As some of those chosen succeed in eluding their ceremonial captors, the hunt continues until the required number is secured.

---

[1] For the forced transfer see Vol. 7, 156.

A.[See Category 116. p. 414--Analyst]

The men are stripped to their breech cloth and moccasins and painted all over 561 with red paint by their ceremonial fathers and transferrers.[1] In the meantime, the wives of the fathers and sons exchange clothes behind curtains held up by the wives 575 of the transferrers. The son's wife is then brought forward and given two suits of 796 clothing, one for the son (her husband) and one for the transferrer; she also takes the 432 lance and other regalia for the son. She goes to the entrance to the enclosure and waits. Then the transferrer rises and followed by the son, walks slowly in a stooped [302] position, and on reaching her each kisses her and receives the clothing in turn. The woman then takes the lance and other regalia to the rear of the enclosure where she plants the former and hangs up the latter. Then she and the two men take their seats, the latter dressing themselves in their new clothes. During all this the father keeps his seat. Each son, his wife, and the transferrer go through the above procedure in turn.

At the same time the son's friends bring in horses, blankets, and other property to pay the father. Here also the transaction for each individual is separate. This accomplished, the whole body enters a large tipi previously set up inside the camp circle where they sit and sing the songs for the sons, or new members.

After a time they emerge and march entirely around the camp circle, sun-wise. The two riders now use their horses. Four times they pause and dance, the signal is given by the two horsemen riding back and forth in front of the column. Having made the circuit, they proceed to the center of the camp where the mounted bearer of the black lance invites some one to come forward and recount four deeds with the lance. If the members present cannot do this, an outsider must be called in. Then they dance once again; after which the women take the lances and headdresses and dance with them.

In all dances the man with the arrow on his headdress leads.

After a time a herald goes about the camp ordering everybody to keep close [203] indoors, for the secret ceremony of the horns is to take place. The new members gather in a large tipi "to be painted by their fathers." The fathers, or the old members remain in their own tipis, but the transferrers meet with the sons. The wife of a son is directed to undress and cover herself with a robe. A small pipe is filled [276] with tobacco. (One was obtained among the Blood, Fig. 22.) The woman extends her hands under the robe and holds the pipe horizontally with the bowl on her right side. She goes out and enters the tipi of her husband's ceremonial father, sits down at his left and offers him the pipe. He takes it, holds it up, and prays; then lights it and smokes. When burnt out, he refills it and hands it back to the woman. (The woman has been instructed as to her part.) The father then leaves the tipi with the woman. Once outside they walk slowly abreast, but some six feet apart. The father watches closely for if the woman stumbles, he must turn back at once, leaving her to return to her husband. When the two are out some distance the woman again hands the pipe to the father. Again, he takes it and prays, but does not smoke. The woman then reclines on her back with her feet together. Vestem [831] mulier ita plicat ut genitalia sola aperta suit.[A] The father places a piece of prairie- [824] turnip in his mouth and stands first at the woman's feet upon which he spits; then at her right, then at the head, and finally at the left. The woman lies as if dead.

---

[1] In the transfer each individual sells to one other in the same fashion as with medicine bundles, Vol. 7, 272. The man selling out is the father to the purchaser, and there is a third man, or transferrer.

[A]. [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

561
575
292
531
237
796

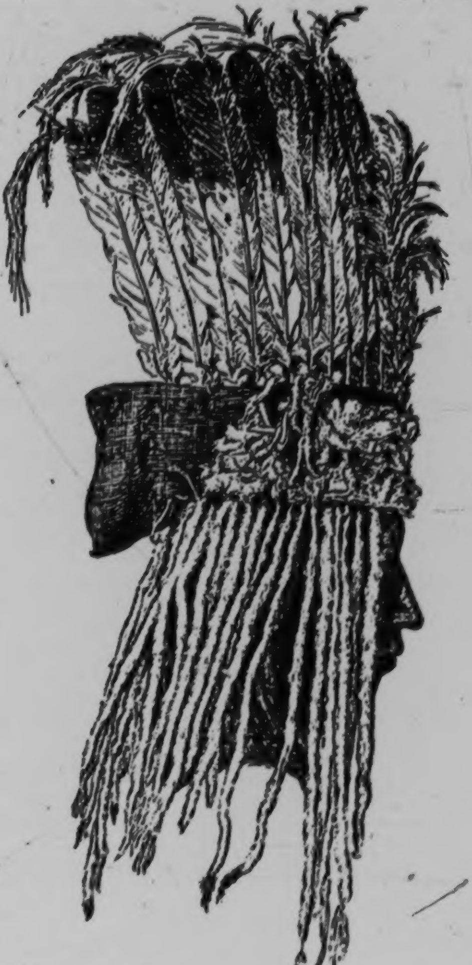


Fig. 21 (50-5100a). A Head-dress worn in the Horn Society, one of two.

Pater ad mulieris pedes iterum accedit flectitque super eam. Tunc, manibus suis in lumeros muleris impositis, genua ad eius femora collocat et facit sic ut membrum suum visile vulvam eius attingat: quo facto (ad pedes) surgit.[A] 561 575

Now, the ceremony may end here at the option of the father. If not he goes again to her feet. Primum in formana cornus digitum vir curvat: deinde, uno femore in sinistram partem amoto, bisontis modo mugit; postremo, altero femore in dextram partem amoto mulierem futuere incipit.[B] As he does so the father spits into the woman's mouth with the piece of turnip in his own. The father then returns to his tipi, while the woman holding the pipe as before goes to the door of the meeting place. There she stands until someone comes out to see who is there. When her name is announced, the transferrer and her husband go to the door. She then enters, being careful not to touch the sides of the door. The transferrer kisses her, receiving the turnip into his mouth. He also takes the pipe still filled. Then her husband kisses her. 796 432 [831] [833] [824]

The transferrer asks if she has been properly painted, and she answers according to the completeness of the preceding ceremony. If the ceremony was complete, the pipe she carried is lighted and passed. The woman is put to bed, still covered with her robe, where she must lie quietly until the next day.

All the wives of members must go through with this during the same evening. [276]

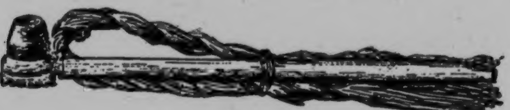


Fig. 22 (50-5401a). A Pipe used by a Blood Woman in the Transfer Ceremony, for the Horn Society. Length, 30 cm.

The next morning camp is moved. The women are taken up and placed upon travois, the horses being led by their husbands. During all this time the women must fast and abstain from drink. They must be helped on and off the travois, etc. After camp is pitched, the women each go to their fathers' tipis to be painted. He mixes up red and blue paints. The woman takes off her robe, but holds a corner over the pubes. The father smears her entire body with red paint. With the blue paint he marks a half moon on her breast. Then a circle on her back with either blue or yellow paint. On the crown of her head, he places some plumes. A blue circle is drawn around the face, a cross of the same on the left cheek and a dot on the right. (The men paint the same way.) A blue mark is made around each wrist and each ankle. [261] [302]

When painted the woman returns to her tipi, dresses, breaks her fast and resumes her daily life. Should the father fail to complete the ceremony the woman's face is painted differently. The left half is yellow and the right blue. On the yellow side is made a cross of blue, on the right a dot of yellow. Around the left wrist and ankle is a yellow band, around the right a blue band. Thus all may know by the painting. [302]

After this the father prays over some pemmican mixed with back fat and berries and gives it to the woman. She takes it home and distributes it to her relatives. [252]

The mounted bearer of the white lance seems to be under obligations to complete the ceremony. Mulier cum viro egreditur. Velut autra, sic mulier nunc decumbit; [833]

A, B [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

561
575 vir, autem pipam prope mulieris caput collocat, at, tunica eius alrepta, libidini dat
796 laxas habenas.[A] Our informant states that this white lance owner is usually jealous
432 of his wife for obvious causes and is not likely to get on well with her.

[833]
561 The following is an extract from Mr. Duvall's notes:—

575 A—— is an old man about seventy-five years old and quite absent-minded so that
[114] his narrative is somewhat disconnected. Once during the talk the clock in my house
began to strike. He paused and when it stopped, prayed to it for help in obtaining
[115] food.

This man is a Piegan but once married a Blood woman and lived with that
division for a time. Thus he came to be taken into the horn society. He did not
care to join, but one day a horn member came to his tipi, circled it, and then came in.
[784] He said that he had come to take me into the horns. "You cannot refuse for I have
circled your tipi," he said. This meant that bad luck would be his portion, if he
[302] refused. Hence, our informant became a member. He was conducted to the meeting
[237] place and painted entire with the "seventh paint." A black circle was marked
around his face. The women, by the way, wear seven plumes in their hair.

[784] It is very dangerous even to talk about the society. Once in a dance two members
fell down; they died in a short time. Our informant once killed a buffalo by the
[789] power of the horns. In chasing a herd of buffalo, he began to fall behind. Then he
rode back and forth across their trail four times, whipped the ground and shouted.
Setting out again he saw a fat cow, down but still kicking. At another time he used
[754] the same formula to cause a rider's horse to fall. Again at a horse race between
some Piegan and Flathead Indians, he spat four times upon a stone and placed it in
the hoof print of the opposing racer, which soon became lame.

When a horn member wishes to kill a person, he sharpens one end of a small stick,
[784] paints it red, names the victim and casts the stick into the fire. Once when the horns
were assembled, a man came in and denounced them vigorously. No one said
anything in reply, but within four days the defamer took sick and died. Thus it is
dangerous to speak evil of them. Even white men fear them.

561 Our informant's wife did not join the horns because she was blind. The society,
575 had both day and night ceremonies. The latter was spoken of as, "sending them out,"
796 the women being sent out to be painted by the retiring members. On the evening
for this ceremony, orders are sent out for everybody to remain indoors as the horns
432 are about to send out their wives to be painted. The people fear them and obey:
[784] should anyone go out, he will meet with grave misfortune.

Once while the horns were marching around, they entered a tipi but the leader,
seeing that he must pass in front of a medicine-pipe man, paused. The others told
him to go on as the power of the horns was much greater. So they all passed in
front of him.

In the painting ceremony the wives are usually sent out in charge of a third man
[431] to conduct them to the ceremonial father. This conductor is expected to make the
woman fine presents; hence one seldom wants to perform this service, but does it
only by compulsion. The woman will afterward treat her conductor in a familiar
manner, she may sit by him and wait upon him, occasionally "scratch his head,"
and her husband can say nothing.

[302] In the painting ceremony the husbands are assembled in the meeting place and
wait there while their wives are conducted to the respective fathers' tipis. The father

[A] [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

000 [A very free translation has been made by HRAF of the passages in Latin on pages 413, 415 and 416. The translation has been complicated by apparent misprints in the Latin text and the use of words not found in any Latin dictionary available to the translator. Therefore, the researcher is advised to use these translations with extreme caution.]

561 Page 413.
575 The woman folds her clothing in such a manner that the genitals
796 alone are uncovered.
432

[831] Page 415:

The father approaches the feet of the woman again and bends over them. Then, having placed his hands on the shoulders (?) [831] [lumeros=humeros(?)] of the woman, he places his knees at her thighs and does thus so that he touches his male (?) [visile=virile(?)] member to her vulva: that done he gets up to his feet.

[833] First, the man bends his fingers in the shape(?) [formana] of a horn: then, having moved one thigh over to the left side, he bellows like a bison; finally, having moved the other thigh to the right side, he commences to have carnal connection with the woman.

[833] The woman is marched out with the man. Just as (??) [autra], thus the woman now lies down; [416] the man, on the other hand, places the pipe(?) [pipam] near the head of the woman, moreover, having taken off (?) [alrepta] his tunic, gives full rein to his passion (?) [libidiui].

takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, 561
he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the 575
meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like 796
scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name 432
of the husband after which the woman enters and spits [784]
the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This
turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She
then squats over a smudge.

Some of the women are refused by the fathers, [558]
because they themselves are not of good repute or
because their husbands are not worthy men. In any
case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his
wife properly painted. 561

Our informant never went through this painting 575
ceremony. Some time after joining, a woman came 796
one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying 531
that she came to be painted. He told her that he 237
could not because he had not received the necessary 532
instructions. She then returned to her husband, who →
sent her to another man.

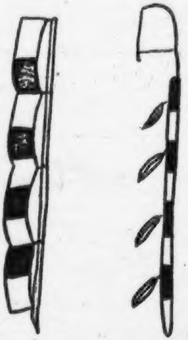


Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. *a* A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; *b* Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant.

The writer has a statement from Strangling- 561
wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint 575
the entire body red. Some wear plumes at the 796
backs of the head, others wear war-bonnets of [292]
several different forms. The lances, however, [302]
are the main objects. They are usually made of
pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's
lance is five hands longer. The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. [237]
Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, [824]
because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers
are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These [782]
are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old
ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19). ^A^ These are provided by certain men
and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are [782]
offered and some tobacco left at the stump.[1] The whole camp must keep
very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made
and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, [531]
after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

---

[1] Flat-tail, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox. [784]

^A^. [See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

561 The leader of this society has the say as to when the camp circle shall be
575 formed and where. He pitches his tipi within the circle.

When dancing, the lances are held out in front almost vertical. The
561 drummers sit in the center. The members dance around them sun-wise,
575 except those with the straight-up bonnets, each bearing a rattle. The latter
go in the reverse direction. The dance is closed by the leader shaking a robe
796 as if driving buffalo.

535 Mr. Duvall writes, "Near the close of the dance the man wearing the bonnet with the arrow dances in the lead while all the other members follow him. He attempts to break through the lines of the spectators who wave him back with blankets and robes and shout. The dancers seat themselves and then go through the same movements as before, trying to break through the crowd, etc. At the fourth attempt the spectators allow the dancers to pass, ending the dance."

[782] When the unwrapped sticks are offered at the sun dance a square rawhide
bag is tied on containing the paint and moccasins used in the ceremony.

561 A curious rule is that when a man sells his membership, he must not meet
575 the purchasers, they being as taboo as mother-in-law and son-in-law. Once
[532] when visiting the Blood there was great confusion in the writer's tent over
[784] the unexpected entrance of a new horn member. Like the mother-in-law
taboo, this can be removed by liberal gifts in a special manner.

[606] The belief is strong that horn members have power of life and death over
[431] all outsiders. A short magic formula is known to them with which the result
[754] can be had.

Running-wolf, a very able Blood Indian, is authority for the statement
561 that after the bull society became extinct the horns took over many of their
575 rites. The headdress of the horn leader is said to have been worn by the
173 bulls. His very aged mother remembered seeing the bull dance. He called
attention to the large part buffalo conceptions seem to play in the ceremonies
and origin myths, whereas the kit-fox of the Piegan has a different mythical
origin. One of our Piegan informants was positive that the buffalo did not
figure in the kit-fox ritual in any manner whatsoever. It will be noted that
this theory of Running-wolf is consistent with our accounts of the kit-fox.
On the whole, we believe this to be the most probable explanation of the
[554] differences between the horns and the kit-fox. In a way, this would also
account for the unusual prestige now enjoyed by this organization.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

## NORTH BLACKFOOT SOCIETIES.

It still remains to consider the corresponding societies of the North 561
Blackfoot division. Our information here leaves much to be desired, 575
chiefly because there seems to be a less definite ranking and a number of new 124
societies included in the list. In contrast to the preceding, our informants [128]
were not in agreement as to the extent and order of the lists. They were
given as follows:—

| *Calf-child* | *Red-old-man* | *Crane-bear* | *Strange-wolf* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mosquitoes | mosquitoes | mosquitoes | ...... |
| bees (namó) | ...... | ...... | crows |
| prairie-chicken | prairie-chicken | prairie-chicken | prairie-chicken |
| crows | ...... | ...... | ...... |
| all-brave-dogs | all-brave-dogs | all-brave-dogs | ...... |
| bad-horns | braves | black-soldiers | braves |
| black-soldiers | bad-horns | wolf-dancers[1] | black-soldiers |
| braves (ma′tse) | ...... | ...... | ...... |
| raven-bearers | raven-bearers | raven-bearers | raven-bearers |
| dogs | dogs | dogs | dogs |
| horns | black-soldiers | bulls | horns |
| catchers (ii′nika) | catchers | kit-fox | catchers |
| bulls | kit-fox | catchers | ...... |
| kit-fox | horns | horns | ...... |

Of these we believe that of Calf-child deserving most consideration,
because he seemed well informed on the details of organization for the various
societies. In order to facilitate comparison we have extended the lists of
other informants so as to bring as many names as possible on the same levels.
We believe that an examination of these lists will justify our assumption
that the differences are due to faulty memories and that each informant was
striving to state one and the same definite tribal order of rank. Further, [184]
a comparison with the list for the Piegan and Blood, will certainly lead
to the inference, that the same order of ranking prevailed among the North
Blackfoot Again, our informants were positive that the rule was for each
society to transfer to the members of another after an interval of four
years, or after four annual ceremonies. Hence, notwithstanding the incon- [184]
sistencies, it seems clear that the North Blackfoot had the same system
of societies as the Blood and Piegan divisions. On the other hand, we find 000

---

[1] maku′ye pa′skan, not known to the other informants.

561 On the other hand, we find
575 a number of new names in our lists. There are also indications of a tendency
184 to readily incorporate new organizations into the series and to drop them
again with equal readiness. This is seemingly a symptom of looseness in
[178] organization and a less developed system of societies than among the other
two divisions, though it may be merely the result of an earlier breaking down
of the social life of the North Blackfoot.

So far as our information goes the black-soldiers (siksi'naki), raven-bearers (máesto$^x$pátakiks), dogs (imitaika), horns (i'tskinai), catchers (ii'nika), bulls (sta'meksia pa'skan), and kit-fox (senopa'pasken) were similar to those of the other divisions.

561 As to traditional origins, it is said that the all-brave-dogs came from the
575 Gros Ventre and the black-soldiers from the Cree. For the other societies
173 we give the exceptions and descriptions as the case may demand.

## THE MOSQUITOES.

561 The tipi in which the transfer ceremony is held is pitched outside of the
575 regular camp and is not a combined shelter as previously noted. Four
796 old men meet there with the little boys to be taken in. After the ceremony
[346] they circle the camp outside in single file and when again near their tipi,
sit in a circle with the drummers in the center. A piece of rawhide is used
instead of a drum. Here they dance four times and then run through the
camp, scratching people as previously described.

When the camp is moved, as at the sun dance for instance, the mosquitoes stay behind and dance until the procession is far away. Then they mount and charge after them, riding around and scratching people.

## THE BEES.

561 The society of the bees (namó), it is said, was introduced by the Sarsi
575 many years ago and according to one informant combined with the mos-
[173] quitoes forty-eight years ago. As an organization it had two leaders of
unequal rank. They paint their faces and bodies yellow, a transverse band
[302] of red across the eyes and one across the mouth; black bands around the
[292] abdomen and the back, the wrists, and ankles. Their clothing consists of
robes, moccasins, and breech cloth. The robes are painted red and blue
[531] and bear the broad beaded band so characteristic of the Blackfoot (Vol. 5,
[237] 123). The ranking leader wears a pendant eagle feather and a strip of
[422] weasel skin at the back of the head.

[531] A decorated staff is owned by the two jointly. The grip is at one end,
[237] wrapped with weasel fur. At the other end are two branching feathers, as

upon the staff for the prairie-chickens (Fig. 24). Along the staff is a fringe 561 ●
of buckskin and a row of dew claws. (According to James Eagle-child the 575
staff is called the bee lodge.)

The lay members paint their bodies and faces red, with a single transverse [237]
stripe of black or white across the nose. They wear only robes, moccasins, [531]
and breech cloths.

All members wear an eagle claw on the wrist, painted yellow, and secured [302]
by a buckskin thong. [292]

In dancing, the organization forms in a circle, the leaders to the west, [237]
the opening to the east, and the drummers in the center. When dancing
out-of-doors a piece of rawhide is used, but for ceremonies indoors, drums 561 575 535 796 [534] [531]
are used. The staff is borne by the first leader. All follow him, when he [532]
rises they rise, etc. After the first dance, the staff goes to the second leader,
then back to the first, etc. There are four dancers and seven songs. All
movements are made sun-wise. The leaders dance inside of the circle formed
by the members. At the end of each dance, all quickly squat in their places.

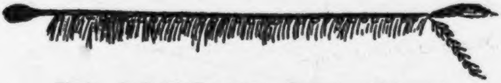


Fig. 24. Staff of the Bee society. Drawn by an Informant.

At the close of the fourth dance the leader shakes the staff causing the dew claws to rattle loudly. At once the members scatter and run about scratching people. If any of the members have been to war and entered the tipi of an enemy, they may go into any tipi and scratch at will.

The tipi of the society is pitched within the camp circle and is made by [346]
combining the covers of the tipis of the two leaders.

When moving camp the members watch the leader bearing the staff and 561
follow. 575

According to our informants the bees were older than the mosquitoes. [173]
This would give them higher rank as indicated in the list of Calf-child. We
were not able to determine how two societies so similar as the mosquitoes
and the bees came to exist, but think it a good guess that one of them arose as
a rival organization.

## THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS.

An informant states that the age for entrance in the prairie-chicken
society (ke'tuki iks) was eighteen to nineteen years. There are two leaders [422]
who seem to own the emblems of their office jointly. When the society [346]

561 meets, the tipis of the two leaders are joined to form a single shelter. Two
575 old men are taken in as drummers. There is no special costume for members
[346] but each carries a rattle and paints his face yellow with red between the eyes.

[302] The leaders carry decorated staffs. One of these is about four feet in
length, the lower half plain yellow, the upper, blue and adorned with feath-
561 ers. At three places is a wrapping of weasel skin to hold four eagle feathers
575 laid on the sides of the stick. From the top extend two more eagle feathers
796 in *y* fashion. The other staff is yellow and blue as before, but bears one
[531]
[237]

561
575
796
535
532

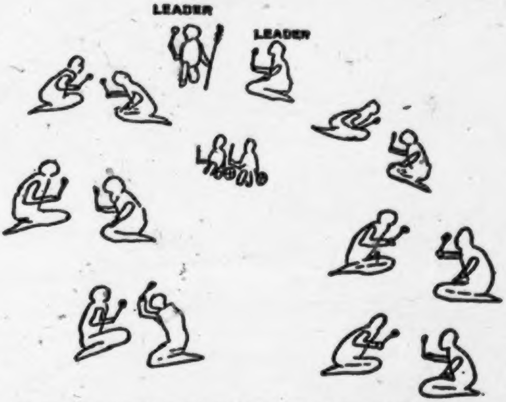


Fig. 25. Dance of the Prairie-Chicken Society. Drawn by an Informant.

561 erect feather, held by a wrapping of weasel skin, below which is a wrapping
575 of beads. We were told that in the transfer ceremony, the two leaders
796 jointly received the staffs, which is an unusual procedure.

[531] In the ceremonies of the society there are four dances at sunrise. The
[237] members number about eighty and sit on their knees in pairs in a circle.
[535] The leaders sit at the west side. The drummers sit in the middle and lean
forward and beat rapidly to make a noise like the prairie-chickens. The two leaders get up and run around the outside of the circle and at their return change places. The members then dance on their knees, throwing their heads out at each other and change places. These evolutions are given four times as stated above.

561 According to Calf-child the society was first organized when his father
575 was a boy and by his grandfather. Youths only were taken into it. The
173

old man did not dream of it, but based it upon a dance he had seen in his 561
boyhood. 575

The origin myth is as follows:— 173

Once an old man saw some prairie-chickens dance. He was a trapper and set some snares in which the dancers were entangled. Afterwards he had a dream in which the oldest of the chickens appeared and said, "You have killed my children and spoiled our dance. If you do not leave us alone, I will take your children away. How would you like that. If I had but few children, I would take some of yours; but since I have many, you may keep yours."

The old chicken carried a staff like that used in the society. Then he began to dance and gave the old man directions for forming a society.

### THE CROWS.

The important point in this society is that it was organized about forty- 561
one years ago and gave its annual ceremony four times, and then ceased 575
to meet. It is said to have originated in the dream of a North Blackfoot [787]
boy. It should not be confused with the ma'esto$^x$pa'takiks (raven-bearers).
The leader and the members wore fringed black shirts and leggings. All 561
carried buffalo tails. Their faces were painted red or yellow, with black 575
symbols representing crow's feet. 796

[292]
There were three to four drummers who sat in the center of the dance
circle. Near them was the skin from the head of a buffalo and upon it the [237]
head of a crow. The leader held these alternately when dancing. The [302]
dances were held in the night and were very noisy, like congregated crows. [535]
A special drum was provided, painted black, and bore a picture of a [534]
crow.

### THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

While with the Piegan, the members paint according to their rattles, [302]
in this division they paint according to a definite formula, yellow on the face with transverse bars of red across the eyes and mouth. The wives of members take part as previously noted, but paint like their husbands and may at times dance in their stead. In the regular ceremonies they dance at four different points in the camp circle. Our informants mentioned the two bear members, described by the Piegan. The North Blackfoot name is ma'tse.

### THE BAD-HORNS.

This was organized by a North Blackfoot man who believed he had died 561
and visited the land of the dead. He came to a place where the dead were 575
[787]

561 dancing. As he stood watching, the leader shook his staff at him at which
575 he passed again into life. His name was Calf-shakes-his-head and after-
[787] ward he founded the society.

The leader carries a staff about four feet long bearing fringes and hoofs
561 throughout its length. The fringe is made from the smoky top of a tipi.
575 One end of the staff is sharpened for planting in the ground. The costume
796 is a very long shirt, like a woman's dress with fringes on the sides, made of
[292] smoky tipi covers. The leggings and moccasins are of the same material.
White paint is spread around the eyes, and around the mouth, red with an
[302] outer border of white.

The second leader has a staff and a costume identical with the first.

[535] There is but one song. In the dance they stand fast, moving the head
and shoulders only. The positions are as in other societies. All hold
[539] whistles in their mouths while making the dancing movements.

There are three drums. These are laid upon the ground and not held when beaten.

The name of this society is paᵋka′potskinaiye.

### THE BRAVES.

[184] The organization is on the whole, similar to the corresponding society among the Piegan, but an informant gave the following exceptions:—

> [292] The shirts they wear are long and reach to the feet. They are made from the smoked parts of tipis. They have a headdress that seems to be a painted cap with holes for the eyes, nose, and mouth. They have two white lances. The informant claims that formerly there were but two of these, and that later they added two more. The other features of the dance are as described by the Piegan.

### SUMMARY.

561 In general it may be said that the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot
575 divisions of the Blackfoot Indians have the same series of societies for men.
184 The same conceptions underlie their gradations and functions and in most
cases the details of organization and the names are identical. This can be interpreted in two ways: either the system was acquired before the divisions separated, or it was disseminated from one center. For a long time the Blood and Piegan have been most intimate and the Indians themselves seem to recognize greater affinity between them. Consistent with this is the close correspondence between their societies. Yet, the greater differences for the North Blackfoot occur among the societies for younger men, which as we

have seen, are by tradition at least, the most recent. Hence, it is a reasonable 561
assumption that formerly the same system prevailed in all divisions. 575
Yet, when minute details are regarded, certain interesting tendencies appear. 184
The organizations peculiar to the North Blackfoot tend to have certain features in common; for example, two leaders jointly owning the tipi or the badge of office, features not noted elsewhere. A like tendency toward the exemption of certain members from police duty, appears peculiar to the Blood. On the other hand, the main patterns for the societies of all divisions are the same, as shown in the arrangement of leaders, the order of the dances, etc. Thus, in general, we have a definite Blackfoot pattern common to all, with but slight deviations toward sub-patterns for the respective divisions, all of which emphasizes the similarity throughout.

This general pattern may be formulated as follows:—

1. A progressive membership.
2. Annual ceremonies, a reorganization each year at the forming of the camp circle (Vol. 7, 22).
3. Transfer of membership at the end of a four year period.
4. Absence of moral and practical qualifications for admission and of all provisions for expelling undesirable members.

The most unique feature of this scheme is the apparent ranking by degrees 561
and the corresponding age equality of the members. We have already 575
called attention to the Indian's notion that, functionally the system is
merely the progressive membership of a group of chums or friends. On the 182
other hand, the grading system is not dependent upon this feature, since 174
such a system could be carried out equally well by individual promotions at irregular intervals. The important point in this is, however, that these Indians did not so much have in mind that all these societies constituted a graded series, as that they were linked together in a chain of ceremonial transfers. While a Piegan knew that one must first join the pigeons and would end when he passed out of the bulls, he thought of the procedure in this way: first one may buy into the pigeons, but a pigeon must buy into the mosquitoes, and transfer his pigeon membership to a novice, a mosquito must buy into the braves, etc. to the end of the list. Once one entered into the thing, he automatically took on a religious obligation to carry it through to its ultimate conclusion. It was precisely like taking over the ownership and obligations associated with any Blackfoot ritual, the condition here being that one entered a series of linked rituals, with periodic transfer ceremonies. This is strikingly consistent with the opinion of two intelligent Piegan informants, that the order of such transfers was determined by the historical sequence in which the society rituals were acquired. Thus, if all existing societies are linked, a new one can be added most

561
575
182
174
easily at the beginning, since there its new members are free to buy in and have no prestige to sacrifice, as would members of the bulls. We should then expect that in the ordinary course of events the first society for one to enter, would be the most recent in origin and the last one in the list, the oldest. On the other hand, it should be noted that there is nothing in the nature of the Blackfoot ritual system that precludes the introduction of a new society at any point in the series, if supernatural sanction could be secured for the change. We offer the above not as certain proof that the rank of these societies was due to seniority of origin, but as a very plausible theory as to how the Blackfoot came to recognize such a system of graded societies. Supporting this theory we have the definite statement by informants that seniority of origin did determine the rank, the consistent traditions that the lower societies had been originated recently, and the peculiar linked transfer obligation, which if held inviolate, necessitated such an order. These make a strong presumption that a historical explanation will fully account for the Blackfoot scheme of gradation. The best examples of sub-patterns are the dual ownership of a staff of office noted in the bees, prairie-chicken, and bad horn societies of the North Blackfoot and the adjunct of the two bear members in the pigeon, mosquito, brave, and all-brave-dog societies of the Piegan. The latter feature is not exclusively Piegan, however, but has been carried out by them in the construction of all the lower societies. An examination of the list of societies for each division (p. 369)A will show that practically everything above the front-tails and black soldiers will cancel out as common to all. It is clear that the North Blackfoot must have developed the bad horns, prairie-chicken, and bee societies with their common and distinct pattern; as to the bear men of the Piegan it is not so clear, though it seems certain that they originated the pigeon society and it is probable that they created the whole group containing the two bear members. The higher ranks in the series cancel off so nicely that it seems a fair guess that they arose before the several divisions of the Blackfoot became distinct, or at least during a period when they were under one tribal government.

561
575
Three Piegan men gave us statements as to their membership in various societies:—

> Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and pur-

A. [See Category 116--Analyst]

561
575

chased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a gun, a saddle, and many blankets. After four years he sold his membership in the horns. As he never sold his membership in the raven-bearers he is still a member of that organization.

Big-brave was taken into the front-tails at eighteen years of age. The members of this society were much older than he but he was taken in as one of the young men comrades. As explained elsewhere, most societies have one or more young men and four much older men as members. This was the first society Big-brave joined. Two years after this, while still a member of the front-tails he was taken into the pigeons, according to his age, that is, all of his chums who were all about the same age as himself bought into the pigeon society. He bought the place of one of the yellow pigeons. A year after this, many members died of the smallpox and the two leaders of the pigeons were killed in war so that the next time they met, Big-brave was chosen as one of the leaders. The proper regalia were transferred to him and his yellow pigeon regalia transferred to another. He gave a gun, some blankets, and clothing as a fee when he first joined the pigeons since in those days the fees for joining were not so great as later. He was a member of the pigeon society three years in all, when the whole society sold out to younger men. All this time Big-brave was a member of the front-tails which society then bought into the raven-bearers. They urged Big-brave to join them but he told them that since he had become a man and was then married he did not care to join their society, because all the members were much older than he and that he thought it best to purchase into a society according to his age and rank, or into the society in which all his chums were. However, the front-tails prevailed upon him until he joined them in the purchase of the raven-bearers. During the same year, he with the pigeons, bought into the mosquito society. After he had been in the raven-bearer society for a year he sold out and three years later sold out his membership as a mosquito, he having been in that society four years. The year after this he bought into the brave society of which he has been a member ever since as he never sold out. Twenty-nine years ago (1911) he was made a member in the all-brave-dogs society to take the place of one of the old men members and, since he never sold out, he is still a member of this society. He also dances the grass dance as it makes no difference who dances in this association nowadays. As Big-brave explained he did not join the front-tails and the raven-bearers according to his rank or in the order in which he should, but was taken into the front-tails as a boy member and afterward induced by them to continue the association when they purchased into the raven-bearers. Then again when he joined the all-brave-dogs, who were all much younger men, he was taken in as one of the old men members. He further comments that each society took in four old men comrades and four very young men, spoken of as single men comrades, and that when a society sells out its membership they call in former members to officiate in the transfer, that is, all those of whom they purchased their membership who, in turn, transfer it to those to whom they are to sell.

When about eighteen years of age Bear-skin joined the pigeons. He claims that he and some of his chums organized this society which was dreamed by an old blind man. After remaining with the pigeons for three years he sold out to a younger man and then bought into the braves. As he was absent when his fellow-members bought

561 575 into the mosquitoes, he with them bought into the braves again and thus remained a member for five years. For two years he was a member of the all-brave-dogs but joined no other society after this because all the societies for older men had been discontinued.

Extended comment on these narratives seems unnecessary since taken in their entirety they present almost every phase of the Blackfoot system of progressive membership. We have previously noted that theoretically a membership terminated during the fourth year, but this seems to have been contingent upon opportunity to sell out. It will be observed that of the ten intervals given by our informants, four are of three years' duration instead of four years. This may be due to the stated rule that one should sell during the fourth year of membership which in some cases would give an actual interval of little more than three years. When Bear-skin corrected his error in skipping a society, he not only served four additional years, but felt obligated to buy in a second time with his companions. As noted elsewhere this companionship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot scheme.

We understand that there were no definite age requirements for membership. On this point, however, we have very meager concrete data. Some informants were of the opinion that the ages of members would not vary more than two years, which is in keeping with the Blackfoot conception of chums (Vol. 7, 16). On the other hand, some informants were equally positive that great differences in age did exist. It is evident that if all members in a society are of equal age, there must be an absolute age limit for entrance to the first of the series. There is no evidence that this was the case.

Thus, since boys of any age were taken into the lowest society and then automatically carried through the series, there could be no great uniformity in age. It may be that the chum idea was made the basis of a symbolic equality in ages; at least, this was Mr. Duvall's opinion.

561 575 432 424 We come now to the method of joining a society. In the preceding paper on the Blackfoot (Vol. 7) we discussed the transfer conception, or scheme, that seems to underlie all their ceremonial procedure; hence we need but add that membership in a society falls under the same scheme. When it is said that one society sells, or transfers, to another, the process is in all essentials the same as for ceremonial bundles. As we have pointed out the latter are strictly of individual ownership and it is quite in keeping with this rule that when entering a society, you have transferred to you the particular regalia, seat, and functions of a given member. As is made clear in the account for the horns (p. 413) the parties to this transfer are the new member, the retiring member, and an ex-member, the latter officiating.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

No other man has any part in the ceremony. This is practically identical with the son, father, and transferrer relations previously discussed (Vol. 7). While it is the rule that all members perform these various ceremonies of transfer at the same time, they may occur at any time, as is shown in our personal narratives. If for any reason *A* should privately transfer to *B*, *B* and not *A* would report when the next meeting of the society was called. It seems then that these societies are after all but organizations of individually owned ritualistic bundles (regalia) and that the whole conforms to the tribal ceremonial scheme. 561 575 432 424

This accounts for the absence of anything like election or selection of officers, or persons to fill important functions. Thus, it was the rule for the young man who held the leader's place in the lower society to receive by transfer the regalia of the next higher, etc., to the end of the list. On the other hand, any leader could privately transfer his regalia to another, who thereby became the leader. It was the custom, however, to fill vacancies by death by a kind of informal election among the surviving members. Thus, there were no important restrictions to membership, since even the purchase price was insignificant. Conversely, there are no provisions for dismissing members who fail to live up to ideals, nor were we able to find special ideals of conduct as among the Dakota societies (p. 64). 561 575

Another interesting feature of this society system is the adjunct of four old men and four very young men, the former seemingly as honorary members, the latter as assistants. Consistent with the scheme of comradeship these usually accompany the age group to which they were first attached even up through the higher ranks. The old men have very real and important functions in the pigeons and mosquitoes since the youthfulness of the regular members is likely to interfere with ceremonial decorum. Likewise the young men assistants have very real functions in the highest rank where the members are likely to be among the superannuated.

796 Outsiders may come in later with offerings to the sun and have their
575 faces painted by the mothers. The regular painting is yellow over the face
432 with a red horizontal band across the eyes and one across the mouth.
302 Down the forehead and nose is the peculiar forked line in blue, previously
mentioned.

796 It is a peculiar fact that the horn society having its ceremonies at the
575 same time, brings in its unwrapped lances and fastens them to the center
[561] pole as an offering.

The closing ceremony of the ma'toki consists in taking down the shelter and the frame, leaving only the center pole, with its sun offerings. Then the members stand around the pole and sing. This concludes the ceremonies for the year. (Fig. 19.) A

The ma'toki, like the horns, seems to be feared on account of its magical powers, though it is regarded as inferior. During their ceremonies and especially at night, they must not be disturbed.

The statement of another informant is as follows:—

> The ma'toki meet once a year at the time of the sun dance. Should there be no sun dance, they would perform their annual ceremony anyway. The owner of the center tipi pole seems to have full powers of initiation and from her must come all instructions as to date, place, etc. In response to her call a camp circle is formed.
> [782] When a sun dance is not given simultaneously, the ma'toki go about from tipi to tipi collecting the cloth, etc., to be offered the sun, which is then tied to the center tipi pole. If a sun dance is under way, they are tied to the sun dance pole instead.
>
> [432] During each ceremony, early in the morning, the new members go out and bring in those whose membership they purchased. Suppose A transferred a place to B; then B conducts A to the ceremonial shelter and A paints B. This must be done each morning during the ceremony. A remains in the shelter during the day, to paint any outsider who may come with offerings for the sun.

Dr. R. H. Lowie observed parts of the ma'toki ceremony among the Northern Blackfoot and writes as follows:—

> In the afternoon of June 17th the twenty members of the ma'toki were busy constructing the lodge for their dance. After several hours' work they proceeded to the circumference of the camp circle for the selection of a lodge. They marched in single file, headed by an old man who was said to sing at their performance. After a while they were followed by a man bearing an eagle feather fan, the herald of the
> [346] sun dance. They walked twice around a lodge, stood still for a while, then took down the lodge and carried it back to the dance lodge where it was superimposed on the conical roof of the structure already erected. The walls of the lodge were lined

---

[796] dangerous. He is a member of the horns and his wife a ma'toki. Mrs. Strangle-wolf speaks
[575] of the horn members' wives and yet we find one man who is a horn and his wife is not. I
[432] asked them about this, and she said that she was a ma'toki, that her husband was not, and
that she had nothing to do with the horns.

A, [See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

221 effective marshalling of considerable bodies of men. It was
224 for the great summer hunt that the various bands assembled
[361] in a tribal camp. As the spring progressed the bands joined
up into a few major groups, and finally at an appointed season
the whole tribe converged on the summer camp, where for a
few weeks intensive hunting was followed by feasting and
ceremonial.

224 The summer hunting depended essentially on surrounding
the buffalo with all the available strength of the tribe. In
the days before the horse, which made the surround so much
easier, large pounds were probably used in summer as well. The
popular picture of a party of Indians on horseback circling continuously
round a stampeding herd into which they shoot their
arrows represents the conditions of later days. When a herd
had been reported by the scouts a plan of attack was arranged
and the hunters were divided into a number of parties, which,
going by different routes, surrounded it from all sides. To
hem in the great herds more effectively the parched grass was
sometimes fired on the windward side. After they had acquired
horses the surround was far more easily effected and animals
which broke away could often be run down. Still later in the
[411] nineteenth century, when muskets were obtained by barter
[439] with traders who had come west across the Mississippi, hunting
[171] by smaller parties played an increasing part. But long before
this there had grown up a number of strict rules regulating
communal hunting which were found among almost every
tribe throughout the Plains. When a considerable herd was
in the vicinity individual hunting was strictly barred, and it
was a public duty to report it to the tribal leaders so that a
[575] communal hunt might be arranged. This regulation and
procedure was controlled by one or more of the men's societies.

361 For the tribal assembly in summer a great camp circle was
221 formed. The tipis were set up three or four deep in a circle of
perhaps half a mile in diameter with a wide opening on the
[621] east. Each band camped as a group in a traditional position
in the circle.

**The Tribal Camp and the Men's Societies**

575 Nearly every man among the Blackfoot was a member of
a society which performed dances and ceremonies, and also
shared as a group in the organization of the encampment and
migrations during the summer season. In each of the three
Blackfoot tribes there were several of these societies—from
nine to a dozen or more—which collectively embraced all the
men of the tribe and were known as 'All Comrades'. Each
●[561] society had its own name, songs, dances and ranks. Its
[432] members were of about the same age and experience but they

575 561 432 did not remain in the same society throughout. Every four years or so they transferred their rights of membership to younger men and themselves obtained the rights to the society next senior. These transfers, although generally made at the same time during the summer camp, were, however, individual transactions, the junior man making a payment of robes, weapons or horses for the regalia and rank within the society to the man whose place he wished to take. The latter then belonged to no society until he proceeded to purchase membership in the society above from an individual who was ready to sell.

575 561 Thus, once every four years as a rule, all the men save the oldest changed their society for the one next senior, while the youths joined the lowest for the first time. The societies as a whole, therefore, fell into a graded series, through which each individual passed as through forms at school. As at school, individuals did not always start at the bottom, and one or two might skip a grade later on or stay behind beyond [888] the normal period. Moreover, a few old men became honorary members of the more junior societies and acted as instructors, while one or two young men were admitted to the senior societies to serve as messengers and helpers of the old and less active majority.

In each of the three divisions of the Blackfoot the senior societies corresponded closely with each other, with similar names and relative order, but the number and names of the junior societies showed greater differences, probably because they were formed in more recent times after the three divisions had separated or lost their former close contact. Among the Piegan division the names and order of the societies at the end of the last century were: Pigeons, Mosquitoes, Braves, All-Brave-Dogs, Front Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kitfoxes, Catchers, and, most senior, the Bulls. This system of graded societies was a special development which had spread among [171] some of the northern Plains tribes. Among other tribes the societies remained at an earlier stage without official grading or provisions for systematic transfer.

575 Apart from the ceremonies and dances, which probably loomed largest in the members' eyes, the functions of the societies were mainly to maintain order and co-operative action in the camp during the communal hunt and migrations of the summer seasons. For the rest of the year they were in abeyance and the members were scattered among the various bands. [622] When the bands assembled in the spring, the leaders of the societies conferred with the band chiefs, who outlined their

within the tipi where the Bundle is kept. Peace 778
and quiet should be maintained around such a 784
tipi at all times. If someone calls from outside and does not come in, we must step outside to speak with him. Mokakin, himself a former Medicine Pipe Owner, was well aware of this rule.

"Oki, OmachKinna," I said to him, as he 576
came through the doorway. I used a standard 574
greeting of respect to an older man.

"Oki, Natosina ki SikskiAki," said Mokakin in return. He glanced around our tipi and said, "It's all fixed up now," giving an approving nod, then shaking his head to the side with pleasure. We felt happy and proud that our traditional Ways gladdened the old man's thoughts.

"Do you have time to sit and have a smoke and some tea?" I asked hesitantly. I knew that Mokakin was already serving as advisor, as grandfather, to the soon-to-be Horns. I wasn't sure how long he had for a visit with us.

No sooner had I asked the question than we heard Ponah's strong voice call out, "PitachPikis!" And for insurance she followed with, "Mokakin!" Knowing that there would be no excuse for not hearing his wife call at least one of his names, he apologetically mumbled something and hurried out. One of the future members of the Horns was probably waiting to be advised on some ceremonial matter. We knew that Mokakin would spend as much time at our place as he could, and we looked forward to his later visits.

Behind Mokakin's and Ponah's tipi was the 575
tipi of their son, Charlie Weaselhead. His parents 561
had given him the new white tipi to honor his [431]
joining the Horns Society. His joining meant a lot to them. They had been members in the past.

While sitting quietly in our tipi, we suddenly 533
became aware of a gathering of voices, soon fol- [534]
lowed by a few beats on a large bass drum. The [431]
camp was about to be entertained by "tobacco singers," a group of friends who sit before the door of a lodge and sing until the lodge owner

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Weather Dancer among the South Piegan division of our People. Weather Dancers from various divisions often join together for Sun Dances. 123 [793]

Another of the Old Man's spiritual duties was to serve as advisor to the Horns Society. Among our People he was considered to have the greatest knowledge of the society's songs and ceremonies, having held seven different memberships in the society, including that of leader. The recent transfer was the tenth for which he had served as advisor. In his younger days, the Old Man also belonged to the now-extinct Brave Dogs and Pigeons societies. 793 575 561

As always, it was an honor to have the Old Man visit our home. His presence inspired us with the knowledge that it was still possible to find spiritual satisfaction with many of our Old Ways in this modern age. The strength of his old age let us find Power in his Teachings. With each visit he gave us more of his Good Spirits. 574 123

We sat in silence for a few moments after the Old Man settled next to me. It is not proper to ply a guest with many questions as soon as he arrives; nor does a guest usually begin a lengthy conversation until he has learned what mood is current in the lodge he has just entered. During that period of silence, SikskiAki came in, followed by Mokakin. As an old *Ninamskan*, or Pipe Man, he was given the second place of honor in the tipi, to the left of the Old Man. 576 574

Mokakin is learning to carry out two of the Old Man's duties. During his past memberships with the Horns he became acquainted with many of that society's functions, and is now looked upon as an advisor by the new members. In addition, Mokakin is a successful doctor of several minor physical ailments. He was given, in dreams this Power and shown the plants to use while he was sleeping near some old open-air burials in a secluded part of the reserve. His dreams came unexpectedly, while sleeping alone during a wintertime trapping expedition. 575 561 [867] 759 [787]

While SikskiAki served lunch to our three 778 574

[p. 15-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Late in the afternoon those members of the 796
Pigeon Society [who were able to relate personal 431
exploits of bravery] formed a line, standing. Two
of them rode a single horse; the others were all [575]
dismounted. They began to sing and approached [555]
the A-Kax and entered, then took a position in
two rows; the riders rode their horses once completely
around the enclosure, passing at the back
between the banner [Weather Dancers' booth]
and centre pole. Four Tom-toms [hand drums] [534]
and the same number of rattles were obtained for
music. While the Pigeons danced and sang, relatives
brought in piles of goods which were deposited
at the feet of the dancer related to the
giver. These presents were all gathered up by an
old man and distributed to other people. Eagle
Ribs [the uncle of our Mokakin] was taken by
the arm and led out to the centre and left standing
there. Pails of food were now brought in; generally
a row of 4 or more pails were strung upon a
stick and carried in by two squaws, each taking an
end of the stick. Squaws [a foreign word to us, [601]
even though Wilson uses it often; a man calls his
wife Aki, "woman," or Nitokeman, "my wife"]
always put down the pails, and either left the
enclosure or joined the crowd of women at the
south and near the entrance. The food was distributed
to all the people who had seated themselves
inside, with bowls in front of them. Next [276]
pipes were filled, presented to an old man, blessed
and smoked. They then danced three times without
changing their positions in rows. Bob Tailed [792]
Chief [then a young member of the Pigeon Society—he
later became one of our holy leaders]
went and placed a stick at the feet of an old man,
which meant that he had given him a horse, at
which the old man stood up and made a long
blessing over the liberal young man, whose wife
came forward and shared it with him. A 4th dance
was indulged in at close of which they danced out.
Time was 8:10.

The Pigeon Society was composed of young 575
men who had few exploits to their record, and so 561
796

[p.36-A]

they were the first to perform in the Medicine 575
Lodge. This was an opportunity for the societies 561
to inspire the People, as well as themselves, with 796
their ceremonies and comradeship. And it was an
honor for members to donate food to the gathered [431]
People, who were given good thoughts [556]
through the gesture.

After the presentation, the People were asked 796
to return to their lodges and spend the night
quietly. There was to be no noise, especially near [784]
the Medicine Lodge. The Weather Dancers were
fasting and meditating on the Holy Powers [791]
created by the sacred encampment. [785]

## THE SELF-TORTURE CEREMONIES

Another group to participate in the Medicine 796
Lodge ceremony came to fulfill their own vows.
These were men who had made vows of physical 782
sacrifice in exchange for spiritual help from Sun. 785
Such vows were usually made during dangerous situations, perhaps on the hunt or warpath, when death seemed imminent. A vowing man might call out to Sun, "Help me, O holy Sun, my Father, and let me see you again with happiness. Give me your strength so that I may survive this danger, and I will give myself to you. I will help my People to remember your Holy Power by performing the physical torture dance during the next Holy Lodge ceremony of our People." Fulfilling such vows was truly a Sun Dance, and inspiring to those who watched.

### *WILSON'S OBSERVATIONS: 1892*

The last time self-torture vows were fulfilled during 796
a Blood Medicine Lodge ceremony was in 785
1892. The days of warpaths were already past. Al- 657
though our young men still went on regular horse
raids then, there was seldom any fighting, even [178]
when the raiders were caught. Government agents [721]
knew that the self-torture ceremony inspired a [182]
spirit of adventure, which they opposed. Follow-
[177]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 38A]
[P. 36-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

575
561 ●

As we ate breakfast on this foggy morning, our door curtain was quietly lifted from the outside and a blanket-covered figure quickly stepped inside. The mysterious visitor was our favorite uncle, Atsitsina. Sitting down at my left, he let the blanket drop to his waist. He watched the door, saying to us, "I'm scared they might catch me, you know! That's why I haven't been staying with you at the camp. The Horns don't have enough members and they might grab me and make me join with them. Some of them are pretty close friends of mine."

When a younger society takes over the Horns, it must have enough members of its own to fill all the memberships of the Horns. If not, the new members will recruit additional, and occasionally unwilling, members. The recruiters [292] wear blankets over their heads and carry a filled pipe as they approach the home of the intended [276] captive member. If they can catch him inside and touch him with the pipe, he must smoke it, thereby agreeing to join the group. This can be done anytime during the year, but is most common while the People are gathered at the Sun Dance Camp. It is a well-known tradition all our People respect. However, as Atsitsina was over seventy years old, and the average age of new Horns members less than forty, it was unlikely he would be called on in this manner.

"Well, they might not try to catch me," Atsitsina admitted, "but I'm scared to join them, so I don't want to take any chances. You know," he went on, "my brother, Ksachkom ["Earth," or Fred Eagle Plume] is joining, and he still needs to find a partner. Everybody knows that I never did join the Horns, so they might try to get me now."

I asked why he had never joined, since most of his friends had been members several times. He replied, "Well, you know that I've always been with Medicine Pipes. I never thought that I could devote myself to both these things properly, so I just took part in one."

I waited for him to go on. When he didn't I

[p.105-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

asked, "How come your dad, Natosina, was able to take care of both things properly—besides learning other holy Ways?" 561 575

He replied, "You know we don't talk about the Horns Society if we don't belong to it. There is a lot of Power and secrets with that society. I've always been scared of their Power and I don't like to have anything to do with secrets. Maybe I couldn't keep secrets good enough. I always got enough Power from my Medicine Pipes. And I didn't have to keep any secrets with them." [784]

Then he told us about the time he was almost captured to join the Horns:

"Back in the thirties, I was trying to live like a white man. I went to the Catholic church on Sundays, and I worked on my farm all week long. I was a pretty good farmer. I had cattle and horses and farming equipment, and a lot of acres to work. I didn't even go to the Sun Dance Camps because that was during the busiest time of the farming season. Well, this one summer, I was cutting my hay, while most of the People were camped up here at the Buttes. I was at home, my wife was feeding me some dinner, when we saw a car drive up. I recognized the car from a distance; it belonged to a friend of mine. I got up and walked to the door to say hello to him. But before I opened the door my wife called, 'Wait, don't open the door. There's some men getting out of that car and they got blankets on!' I looked through the curtain just when one of them was taking a pipe from the car seat and hiding it under his blanket. I knew right away what they came for, so I ran to the back of the house and jumped out through an open window. I left my saddle horse just standing there by the house. I ran all the way back to where I was haying. My wife told them that I was working somewhere in the fields, so they left and drove to somebody else's house to try their luck. Gosh, if they had caught me, I would have had to quit my farming right then and move up to the camps. And I would have had to give up most of my horses to [177] [241] [425]

[p. 105-B]

pay for my membership. Maybe I wouldn't have 561
had enough horses left to keep on farming. That's 575
what happened to some others who joined."

Our uncle was born in about 1900 to Sikski-
Aki and Natosina. His mother became old. Later, [425]
her name was given to the infant girl who was to
become my wife. Before SikskiAki, his father had 551
a first wife called Marmot Woman; and before 553
Natosina, his mother had been married to Low
Horn, who was killed on his way to the Sun
Dance Encampment of 1898.

Our uncle's dad, Natosina, was best known by the name Eagle Plume; and our uncle himself is officially registered as Willie Eagle Plume. At one time he was known as Big Snake, the name of his father's brother. And now, as we fed him breakfast, he told us he had taken a new name, this one from his father's half-brother, Aukitsikinnih, "Bad Moccasin." But he is best known as Atsitsina. It was a childhood name that remained with him throughout his life.

At first many of our People receive a baby
name referring to a personal characteristic. Later, [554]
as they grow into childhood, they are given a
childhood name, usually in honor of an ancestor
or other successful person. Then, upon a first war-
raid or distant journey, a person may take an
adult name for himself, or be given one by others.
Finally, in old age, many give up their names to
some favored young relative and take on their
final name. A person might also change his name [787]
for other reasons, such as being inspired by
dreams.

I used to think that our uncle's name was Glove Man, the literal translation of the word *Atsitsina*. But just recently I learned that his name is actually understood to mean "Prairie Owl Man." He explained how this happened:

"Oki, the reason my name is Atsitsina—I'll tell you the story. My father's sister, her name was Three Owl Woman, and her husband, his name was Sits-With-His-Chest-Out, they had two children. Their youngest child was a little older than

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

*Some children were playing in the bushes by* 773
*the camp. One of the children was a minipoka.* 539
*His father was the head chief. Everybody was afraid of this chief; sometimes he got a bad temper, but he was Powerful and a good leader.*

*Oki, the kids were playing in the bushes. The minipoka had to go to the toilet, so he went away from the kids where they could not see him. But the other kids, they wanted to know how a minipoka would take care of himself. So they watched through the bushes. When they looked at him,*
*their eyes got big. What fell to the ground was a* [301]
*big pile of pretty shells, the kind Medicine Pipe*
*Owners wear as a necklace. The children ran out* [237]
*from the bushes and grabbed the shells. They were so excited that they knocked the minipoka down and took all the shells. When he got up, all the shells were gone and the kids ran off through the bushes with them, singing and laughing.*

*The minipoka started to cry and ran home to his father. When he told his father what happened the chief became angry. Right away, he gave the order for camp to be moved and for no one to call home their children. The People had to do what the chief ordered. By the time the children were finished playing and got back to the camp, all they saw were the smoldering fires where their tipis used to be. They all sat down and cried because they knew that they had been abandoned.*

One of our Old People was raised as a mini- 593
poka by his influential father. His parents located 858
a young girl from a good family to become his
wife, even though he was still a boy and living at [584]
home. He became a member of the Horns Society [575]
when he was only about twelve or fourteen,
which is very unusual. The Old People say that [561] ●
even now he still acts like a minipoka and likes to [157]
see things done to suit himself.

While we talked about minipokaiks, Ponah 593
admitted she had been the minipoka of her 858
father, Iron. She said that they had a painted 857
Medicine Tipi transferred to her. When I asked [952]
[778]
[432]
[345]

[p.120-A]

Owner cried out, 'It sure was broken last year. 778
Everyone saw it. But now it doesn't look like it 276
was broken.' That is a very strange thing about 173
this Pipe that my children have, here. It was
broken, but when they opened the Bundle again,
it was all right. That's very strange."

Running Wolf and Heavy Shield are remembered 793
as Owners of our Pipe during the Old Days. 778
One of its former Owners, White Horn, John 551
Many Chiefs, gave me the following list of the
Bundle's Owners as far back as he knew them: [115]

1. Lizard Shoulder
2. Eagle Arrow
3. Frank Red Crow
4. Red Beads
5. John Cotton
6. Red Leggings
7. Bumble Bee
8. Arthur Healy
9. Wings
10. Bob Black Plume
11. Crow-Spreads-His-Wings
12. John Many Chiefs
13. Laurie Plume
14. Willie Scraping White (Wolf Old Man)
15. Bob First Charger
16. Frank Red Crow
17. Jim Red Crow
18. Stabs Down
19. Adolf Hungry Wolf

Arthur Healy is the earliest Owner still living. 793
He was just a young man when he received 778
the Bundle. It was a gift when he married the
daughter of its former Owner, old Bumble Bee. [584]
Healy transferred the Bundle to old Wings, who
died not long ago.

Wings took over our Bundle sometime in the [858]
1920s. The minipoka of his father, Day Old Man,
he joined the Pigeon Society when he was only [575]
ten years old. At fifteen he became a member of [561]

[p. 155-B]

292
237
778
534
793

Eagle Arrow. The eagle-bone whistle and the feathers are his Medicine. (Glacier Studio)

---

the Brave Dogs. At the age of thirty-five he joined 793
the Horns. 778
For several years Wings worked on his [575]
brother's farm and then on the reserve's agency
farm. Because the agent liked Wings, he was [561]
often given pleasant jobs like driving to town in a 793
buggy to pick up mail and groceries. Eventually 778
the agent decided to set up Wings on a farm of
his own. Wings chose a vacant piece of land on 657
the reserve and became a "homesteader" (an op- [464]
tion still open to members of the band). The
agent loaned him eight good horses, a wagon, a [426]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society 1935]

***leader took a rifle. Nobody saw it. It was wrapped;*** 796
***it was hidden. . . .*** 535

***On the fourth dance [each dance consists of*** 575 ***four rounds within the circle] we all stood in line. . . . During the start of this fourth and final dance, the leader danced in zigzag motion; he danced just like as if he was dodging enemy arrows. The children, boys and girls, threw ma-*** [237] ***nure at him. The leader continued dancing in zigzag motion, dodging from side to side, and the dancers behind him performed in the same manner. . . . Our leader was Low Horn. He danced just like as if he [was] going to charge. He danced a little ways out and then he turned and retreated. Then he danced right into the midst of the children before he was forced to turn back. The boys and girls were throwing manure at him. He was moving his head from side to side so that the manure would not hit him on the face. The manure was not thrown with full force.***

***Low Horn danced around again, holding the rifle in front of him, pointed up. . . . As the children were screaming, he danced right into the midst of them. He fired a shot and the children all fell down just as though they were killed.***

***The Horns members walked through the fallen children to the lodge, where we stuck our staffs into the ground, and then we wiped off our facial paints.***

## OTHER SOCIETIES

Today the Horns and Motokiks are the only tra- 575
ditional societies still active among our People. [178]
We don't know that any other women's society
ever existed, but men used to have several to join, [561]
according to their age group and their experiences as warriors and leaders. Let me give you a brief Teaching about these societies so that you will understand how our People were motivated to form them and why they have respect for them.

[p. 213-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

575
346
778
561

Members of a young men's society, possibly the Pigeons, outside a Medicine Lodge around 1880. The tipi in the background has a Medicine Pipe Bundle tied over its doorway. (Ernest Brown)

[p.214-B]

around them. The societies for older men were 575
chosen for these duties. 625

There were seven men's societies in the Old
Days. Together, all their members were known as [361]
*Ichkunakatsiiks*, or "All-Comrades." These societies
included the Mosquitoes, Braves, Crow- 575
Carriers, Brave Dogs, Horns, Black Soldiers (or 561 ●
Black Seizers), and Bulls. In later years of the
Old Days, the Bulls Society became extinct, while
the Pigeon Society formed in its place. The
youngest groups were the Pigeons and Mosquitoes;
the oldest were the Horns, Black Soldiers,
and Bulls. The ultimate in a warrior's life was to [554]
have been a member of all the societies.

The younger societies were mainly social.
The Pigeons were originally boys who had not
gone on any war raids. By the time they had been
on a few, they usually became members of the
Mosquito Society.

The Mosquitoes are said to have originated [787]
in the dream of a man who lay naked out on the
prairie and let swarms of mosquitoes suck blood
from him. While he was unconscious afterward, a
mosquito came to him and gave him the society
for his generosity. Each member would wear an [237]
eagle claw upon each wrist, to represent the
mosquito's bill. During ceremonies, the members [626]
would use the claw to scratch those who got in
their way. Anyone who resisted their symbolic [796]
scratches would be fallen upon by all the members
and severely scratched.

Each society had a ceremonial dance, during 575
which the members had their faces and bodies 796
painted and wore their society insignias. The significant
part of the Braves' ceremonial dance was [535]
the end, when all the members ran north out of
the camp circle and threw their moccasins into
the air to symbolize the discovery of a buffalo
herd. It is said that one time the barefoot mem-

reflection that he was going to be an old man. 159 869
That is why he was very aggressive. He knew he [787]
would not die before reaching old age. Myself,
I did not look into the badger blood.

Out on the plains there is a ridge, a place that 224
we call Writing-On. That is where my father 159
went camping and trapping and shooting. He
never trapped less than 200 muskrats; usually he
got around 500, 600, or 700. I know my father
once trapped 1,500 muskrats. In the beginning he [435]
could sell the pelts for 15 cents each. Later he was [178]
able to get 20 cents, then 25 cents, 30 cents—
always more as time went on. When old age
forced him to quit trapping, he got 75 cents for
each muskrat pelt.

My father was in the Black Seizers Society. 159 575
Once, when I went to a Black Seizers dance, they 561
painted my face. [Painting someone's face during [852]
the ceremony of a society or Bundle makes that
person a spiritual associate of the society or [302]
Bundle.] My friends, Wore White Pants [Harry
Spear Chief] and Tony, the son of Crane Chief,
were also painted. Their fathers, like mine, were
members of the Black Seizers, as well as elder
comrades in our own young man's society, the All
Brave Dog Society. ["Elder comrades" were once [869]
members of the young society; they taught the
songs and ceremonies to the young members.]

My father taught me the life of the Black
Seizers, the ones who tear our clothes. [The [431]
Seizers had the traditional right to demand food
or other donations from the People in camp [626]
during the society's gatherings. If refused, the
Seizers could tear up their clothing. They were
not particularly popular for this.]

My father made me join the Braves Society 159 575
and he taught me how they dance. I grew up and 869
carried on both the Indian Way of life and the [177]
white Way. . . .

One person alone didn't educate me. Ki-soum
taught me how to work the sweat lodges for the
Horns Society. Natosina taught me how the
Horns Society operates. So also did Three Guns

[p.233-A]

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

539 they have little knowledge. As women take important parts in most rit-
182 ualistic ceremonies, such restrictions are not correlated with sex differences.
562 Then, again, all elderly persons are assumed to have had considerable
experience in ritualistic ceremonies; hence young people usually hesitate
561 to narrate myths in deference to the rights of their elders.

Clark Wissler.

883 New York City,
July 11, 1908.

cepting for the sons of the rich—and they were a decided minority— 175
skill in hunting and warfare and courage in the face of danger were the 178
musts for survival. In a word, self-reliance was the aim and basis of 105
training. 866

And self-reliance was as necessary inside the home as outside it. Not 855
that the Blood lacked affection for their offsprings, or a desire to support
them. Many observers have commented most positively on both these
traits. But the dependence on the hunt and war for food and gain, the
frequent movings from place to place, made the rearing of children a
difficult matter. Many stories are told of newborn infants "thrown [847]
away," left to die in the bushes, either because they could not be cared [846]
for on the march, or because raiders might hear their cries and thus be [736]
led to the camping ground, or because a mother had died in childbirth
(the lot of the orphan, and even the half-orphan, was, and still is, far
from enviable).

It was also considered desirable to limit the number of children. 842
Two years was the standard interval, but the longer the time between 855
siblings, the more parents demonstrated their love for the child previ- [854]
ously born. Moreover, abortion carried no stigma. Magic help for this [847]
purpose could be easily secured from an authorized female practitioner, [759]
and as a special favor, a stop could be put to childbearing altogether. [586]
Revealingly, barrenness is never given as a cause for divorce in this [562]
competitive society where women are highly prized as property and sex
objects, and where marriage is notoriously unstable. [581]

The hunt and war often and for extended periods took the Blood 855
father away from home. And these absences, however necessary, were 155
a continual threat to a child's security. For whether justified or not, and [837]
frequently he was justified, a husband was quick to suspect that "the
worst" had happened while he was gone.[21] A child often heard his [684]
mother accused of adultery, often saw her beaten, and not infrequently
deserted. Whatever the ultimate solution of familial disagreement, the
child invariably was the sufferer. Even if his parents remained together,
he often sought refuge with a nearby relative to avoid further scenes of
violence. If they separated and he went with his mother, as he usually [586]
did if he was still "young," his sense of belonging might be rudely dis- [581]
turbed again. For often when his mother remarried, she left him with

---

[21] Among the Blood jealousy was and is obsessional. Many a husband approaching [152]
his end threatened to kill his wife, for only if she accompanied him on his final
journey would he be sure that he alone would possess her in the next world. The [158]
only Blood confined to an insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical
causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having intercourse
with a ghost.

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

But whether one was on the giving or receiving end, the relationship 858 between a father and his *minipoka* became an exceptionally warm 556 and satisfying one. Many of the father's gestures (his special and fine 554 gifts to his favorite, his solicitude for the latter's comfort, and his eagerness 155 for his companionship) were understood as demonstrations of love; 593 and the favorite's unwillingness to be separated for any long period of time from his indulgent parent—and this even after he married—indicated the depth of his filial affection. Other fathers might be "tricksters," might abandon wife and child, but a *minipoka's* father could be relied upon to fight for the possession of his favorite son, no matter where he intended going or with whom.

To be a *minipoka* then, was highly attractive, materially and emotionally; for besides the direct benefits of wealth and position, the "child of plenty" enjoyed a continuing love and devotion in a very insecure world. Those less privileged found consolation in less rewarding [154] substitutions and subterfuges, some parent-initiated, some inspired by their own needs. Proudly they might mention an otter skin on which they had lain at birth, a weasel-tail suit given them by a loving father, a beaded bag which held their umbilical cord; or they might recall how as a child they had played with the "real" favorites, or how a father's early death had cut short their "honorings," or alone had prevented them from becoming *minipoka*. But however gratifying such memories were to the individuals who evoked them, they never brought community recognition. Only when the spending was great and continual was a child considered a "true" *minipoka* by the Blood. Only then could he be assured of position and prestige.

Equally significant was the manner in which favoritism was extended. 593 Understandably, this process was more outspoken and probably 155 went further in families which were actually supporting a "child of [578] plenty," for it was here that rivalrous feelings were particularly stimulated. But even in more ordinary families, a child thought of himself as *someone's* favorite, if not his father's, then a grandfather's or grandmother's, or aunt's, or even an own mother's, although this was rare.[34] In any case, the same comfort and support was expected from these different relatives as the "true" favorite received from his father. In some

---

[34] In a situation where the father was increasingly invoked as "good," numerous [562] customs and conceptions fostered the "bad" mother image. The mother might "throw away" a newborn infant. She might abandon husband and child for reasons of lust. Her blood polluted (she was isolated at childbirth and could not approach a sick person, tend ceremonial paraphernalia, or be present "when medicine was at work" if she was menstruating). She might be "manly hearted," taking the initiative particularly in matters of sex. She was the instrument through whom sorcery power was attained. And finally she was the disciplinarian in the home.

36: Dempsey    H-4,5    (1952) 1956    NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

# SOCIAL DANCES OF THE BLOOD INDIANS OF ALBERTA, CANADA

By Hugh A. Dempsey

535 [517] FOR decades, social dances have been an integral and vital part of the daily life of the Blackfoot. Whether it be the simple steps of the Rabbit Dance or the intricate movements of the Chicken Dance, these Indians of the southern Alberta prairies accept social dancing as the favorite relaxation and diversion from their daily
[178] toil. Even in modern times, the Indian who drives a late-model car or wears a business suit picks up the rhythm of the drums in the same way as his nomadic forefathers did a century ago.

535 178 [184] The Bloods, a branch of the Blackfoot nation, are perhaps one of the outstanding examples of Indians who are preserving many of the customs of the old buffalo-hunting days. While the younger set among their allied relations (the North Piegans and Blackfoot proper in Canada and the South Piegans in the United States) prefer modern square dancing and box socials, the Bloods still retain many of their traditional rites.

535 The most important social dance among this tribe of 2,100 Indians is the *see-pass-tui-pusk-kah* or Owl Dance. A simple shuffling step, it has been known to these people for less than forty years, yet it has eclipsed in popularity almost every other social dance held on the Blood Reserve.

[171] The Owl Dance came to the Bloods during the early years of the First World War, in either 1914 or 1915, when it was brought into Canada by Bloods who had been visiting in the United States. Informants believe it was first seen by the Bloods on the Crow Reservation in southern Montana and was brought back either directly from there or by way of the South Piegan Reservation in northern Montana.

When it reached the Bloods, the Owl Dance replaced the old Night Dance, another social dance which is credited with origin in the United States. In this dance, the couples simply faced each other and bent their knees slightly in rhythm with the drums.

[121] [182] The Owl Dance won immediate popularity among the Bloods, and many of the customs accompanying the Night Dance and earlier ceremonies were adapted to this new dance. The method of organizing an Owl Dance depended largely upon the social life of the Bloods and their adaptation of early traditions. In order to explain the method of organizing the social dance, it will first be necessary to study their social system.

575 561 Almost all male members of the Bloods belong to one of the fourteen societies on the reserve. Of these societies, thirteen have age group limitations; the fourteenth is the Horn Society, a sacred organization which has endured since pre-treaty days. The following is a list of age group societies existing on the Blood Reserve in January, 1953.

| | | *Name of Society* | *Age Group* |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. | 1 | Crow Indians | Over 85 |
| No. | 2 | Shell Necklaces | 78 to 85 |
| No. | 3 | Fast Horses | 73 to 78 |

575
●561

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. 4 | Big Holes in Ear Lobes | 70 to 73 |
| No. 5 | Tall Hats | 68 to 70 |
| No. 6 | Mad or Crazy Dogs | 60 to 68 |
| No. 7 | Red Belts or Assiniboines* | 52 to 60 |
| No. 8 | Good Riders—Eagles | 46 to 52 |
| No. 9 | Grey Horses—Skinny Horses | 36 to 46 |
| No. 10 | Small Change (Nickles and Pennies) | 28 to 36 |
| No. 11 | Magpies | Under 28 |

* formerly the Pigeons

Two groups, Nos. 8 and 9, have been sub-divided into two societies by the Bloods because of the large membership and the great distances between camps. In each case, one is known as the up-river society and the other as the down-river society, but these are actually little more than sub-divisions of one group.

[424] [425] [178] At present, Bloods who are admitted to a society remain members of it for life. Previously, groups would purchase membership in an advanced society as they became older and sell their existing membership to a younger group. However, the recent years have produced an apathy towards this custom, with the result that no society *transfers have* been made for more than a decade. At present a Blood named Iron, aged 96, is the only living member of the Crow Indian society, and after his death the society will become extinct. However, in a generation from now the name may be revived by a new society searching for a name of historical importance.

535 575 561 578 The Blood societies are in constant competition to outstrip their opponents in any ceremonies or activities on the reserve, and social dancing has become the principal form of rivalry. In the above list, all even-numbered societies are allied and compete against the odd-numbered groups. Particularly keen rivalry takes place between any society and the group immediately above or below it. For example, if the Crazy Dogs were sponsoring a dance, they would attempt to surpass anything that the Tall Hats or Red Belts had organized in the past year.

535 575 561 In preparing for their dance, the Crazy Dogs might lack a good announcer or singer. If this were the case, they would ask one of their allied societies for assistance. When the dance night arrived, members of allied groups would volunteer for any tasks necessary to ensure the success of the affair.

A few years ago, it was the custom for dances to be held almost monthly, with opposing teams alternating their sponsorship in formal order from youngest group to the eldest. If this custom were still kept up, it would mean that the Magpies might take the January dance, the Small Change the February dance, Grey and Skinny Horses the March dance, and so on. However, the senior organizations, (particularly the Crow Indians, Shell Necklaces, and Fast Horses), have almost completely withdrawn from sponsoring their own dances, since none of them has a living membership of more than a dozen persons.

[178] In the modern sponsorship of Owl dances, the Bloods follow the original customs as closely as possible and particularly insist that two allied societies cannot sponsor two consecutive dances. In 1953 the Magpies, as the youngest group, sponsored the New Year's dance; the Small Change sponsored the pre-Lent dance; and the Grey and Skinny Horses were expected to sponsor the Easter dance.

535 177 Most of the social dances are held on recognized Christian holidays, as a com-

535 promise between the old and the new. The pre-Lent dance, for example, is the last
177 dance for forty days, as the Bloods, who are predominantly Anglican (Episcopalian)
[785] and Roman Catholic, forego dancing during Lent. This is the first year of the pre-Lent
[795] dance and is another step in the adaptation of native ceremonies to modern customs.

575 Another sponsor of dances, as mentioned earlier, is the Horn Society. This totally
177 non-Christian religious group has also shown a compromise with the Church by sponsoring
[535] the annual Christmas Dance. A powerful society even today, the Horns play a
[796] vital role in the summer Sun Dance (*okan*) ceremonies, which are the basis of the native religion of the Bloods.

575 Members for the Horns are taken from the age-group societies and, originally, were
● 561 changed every four years. However, the period of membership in the Horns has lately varied from two to four years, depending upon the activity of the group. Membership in this society is decided upon in an alternating pattern similar to the dance sponsorships. For example, the Horn Society members were chosen from the Eagle society in 1951 and, upon the completion of their term, one of the odd-numbered societies will provide the new members.

[535] During the sponsorship of the Christmas dance, the Horns may also call upon the allies of their parent group for assistance. During the 1952 Christmas dance, the Horns, who were predominantly from the Eagles, were permitted to seek assistance from any of the even-numbered societies.

575 Thus, through this complex social organization, a keen and wholesome rivalry is
561 constantly being stimulated to produce the best dances. Some members are ordered to
535 provide food or soda pop; some decorate the hall and set the stage for the important
[578] night. Other members of the group, whether rich or poor, are solicited for gifts of cash or blankets to meet the heavy expenses of the evening.

[626] In speaking to a member of the Magpies shortly before the New Year's dance, it was learned that he had been ordered to bring fifty sandwiches and would be fined $10 by his society if he failed to comply.

The recognized leaders of the society sponsoring a dance usually divide the responsibilities as much as possible among their own group and then turn to their allies for
533 specialized assistance. The principal specialists needed for an Owl Dance are the
535 singers, a dance announcer, and the Chicken Dancers.

The singers both carry the tempo of the dance on the drum and accompany it with the traditional Owl Dance songs. Therefore, to make sure the music will be of the highest quality, the societies call upon certain members who are outstanding in singing for each dance sponsored by their allies. Such men as Percy Plainswoman, Harry Shade, and Alex Little Shield are typical examples of the singers who are most likely to be called upon whenever an allied society presents a dance.

So, too, with the dance announcer. This man is responsible for urging the people to dance and for announcing changes in the dancing routine. Both the even-numbered and odd-numbered societies have two or three elders who are particularly adept at announcing, and they are continually called upon to take part in the activities.

535 The Chicken Dancers are the men who provide the entertainment at the dance. After every Owl Dance, these gaily-clad performers strut onto the floor and imitate the intricate steps of a male prairie chicken vying for the favor of a hen. These dancers make use of sleigh bells, hoops, masks, feathers, and colorful clothing to put on an

their poles. When he had done chopping the poles, he put his lodge up. We called it: „he has a new lodge". That is what I know about the lodges. 539 242

[Cf. Wissler mcbi 63 sq. 99 sqq.]

---

## Note on the societies.

Omîk ap*a*tóχtsik omáuikåpisina, sauumå´χk*a*n*a*kàtsiis, manístsakàmotsīīχ´piàu nitå´χkanòiau. Nitáiniχʽkataiàu Sistsíks. A´ksipummòaiau, Kakuíks *á*nniksaie otsipúmmokoàiau. Iχ´pisústuyìmiausie. Nåχkitsíppumoyìau uskáuaiks. Ostóauai otsipúmmokoaiàu Soisksíssiks. Mátoχpisustuyìmiau. Ki uskáuaiks mátsitsipummoyìau. Ki ostóauai Mátsiks onóχkatsipummokòaiau. Mátoχpisustuyìmiausie. Uskáuaiks mátsitsipummoyìau. Ostóauai átsòmitàiau. Iχ´pisústuyìmiausie. Uskáuaiks mátsitsipummoyìau. Ostóauai áisoyìau. Mátoχpisustuyìmiau. Mátsitsipummoyìau uskáuaiks. Ostóauai áistoχpàtakìau. Mátoχpisustuyìmiau. Mátsitsipummoyìau uskáuaiks. Ki ostóauai áumitauàsiau. Kánnimaie Káinaikoån iχ´kaksînoyiu iχʽk*a*n*á*kàtsiiks. Otsauomítaiχ´tsisì itsítstsìi iχʽk*a*n*á*kàtsiì nitáiniχʽkataiàiks St*á*mikiks, Iínnakiks, ki Sinopáiks. Annóχk nátoknieaχkúiinnimànists sákaiχ´tsists. Iínnaki aχkúiinnimàniau. Amóksi Sinopáiks sinopáutokis ki

Long ago the young men, before they entered any society, were going together according to their being of the same age. They were called Birds. They would be initiated, the Doves were the ones that initiated them. They were four years with it [in that society]. Then they initiated their younger brothers. They themselves were initiated by the Flies. They were four years again with it [in that society]. And again they initiated their younger brothers. And they themselves were initiated by the Braves. They were four years again with it [in that society]. Again they initiated their younger brothers. They themselves became Brave-dogs [Crazy-dogs]. They were four years with it [in that society]. Again they initiated their younger brothers. They themselves became Tails. They were four years again with it [in that society]. Again they initiated their younger brothers. They themselves became Crow-carriers. They were four years again with it [in that society]. 539 561 575

539 aksipístan otsinánoai. A´isippuyi
561 stuyísts itsístsainonχpi Sinopáiks.
575 I´soiiks otsínaimoài ápāχsoiotokā`n ísokùsimìn.

[778]

[292]

Again they initiated their younger brothers. And they themselves became Dogs. That is all that Blood knows about the societies. Before he was [born], there were societies that were called the Bulls, the Catchers [the Soldiers], and the Kit-foxes. Now there are two pipes still in existence. They were the pipes of the Catchers. The Kit-foxes had a kit-fox-hide and a tied bent stick. Forty years ago the Kit-foxes were seen the last time. The chief of the Tails had a coat of weasel-fur.

[Cf. Grinnell blt 104 sqq. 219 sqq., Wissler-Duvall mbi 105 sqq., Wissler sibi 25 sq., Mc Clintock ont 445 sqq., and especially Lowie a 75 sqq., where the different problems relating to the age-societies of the Plains Indians are discussed.]

---

## The Doves and the Braves.

539 A´nisoyi nítstuyìmisists, nitsí-
575 toχk*a*n*a*katsi, nitsítsikakoi. Nisót*a*manistsksiniχ´p íkìtamapi. Nimútstaχpa, ísoχtsik áksikiχ´kìnnàpi, nitsksinís otsítamàpis, áip*a*skàsau nit*á*kaiiks. Einí otáuanikoaiau nínaiks, múχkokakiχ´kotosχsau, matápi kanáitapi máχ-
[224] kstaitsis, íkaistapoàkimai. *A*´nnikaie *á*skskamìau. Ki omá matápiu ákauàkimau, áksiksàsiu. Einí it*a*χk*á*nautsimotàu. Omá matápiu áuàkimau, otsítsinok Kakúyiks,

When I was eight years old, I joined a society, I became a Dove. I then knew this about it, that it was a very happy thing. I did not think, that it would be lonesome in the future, as I knew, that those were happy times, when my partners danced. They were told by the chiefs, that they should watch the buffalo, that there would be no person out of all the people, that would start to chase the buffalo.

124 021 023 taining instrumental values, male roles and male informants were emphasized. Another concern directing the study toward males was the Blood view of relations between Blood women and male outsiders. This view can be characterized as "suspicion." Thus, in order to maintain rapport and to maximize the amount of interview data it was decided to limit interviewing to men.

[828] The age group was selected for another reason. In Blood Indian society, as in many Indian societies, there is no handy cut-off point beyond which children change into 561 124 adults.[7] Unlike the white communities surrounding the Reserve which maintain discrete categories such as "babies," "children," "teen-agers," and "adults," the Reserve equivalent age-grade categories are blurred. Blood did have and still retain portions of an age-graded social system for adults, but even these categories are not universal. Thus, to a Blood Indian, young people are individually characterized and only vaguely discerned in terms of absolute age categories. Since the Blood have no sub-adult category it was thought best to bracket that age group analogous to our "teen-age-young adult" categories. This was done to provide a contrast with the adult and Reserve-wide samples collected by the Spindlers in their field study, and to provide some possible insights into the prospects for acculturation during the coming years.[8] The group selected represents the next

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

561 generation of leaders and workers for the Blood Indian
124 Reserve. Some of the young men interviewed have already attained full adult status and some of them have yet a residue of childhood in them, but, they accurately reflect the possibilities within this age range.

Selection of the Sample

124 The sample was obtained through the help of a number of individuals. The first step was to study the school registration records for the years 1951 and 1953 which are held by the Blood Indian Agency, Cardston, Alberta. They were made available, along with other assistance, by M. Edwards, Teacher-Counsellor of the Agency. From these lists the author selected every other male name, eliminating duplications during the selection process. The list was then studied and divided into three lists. The first list was composed of those individuals not available on the Reserve; persons away at school, working off the Reserve, in jail or otherwise absent from the community. The second list contained the age and place of education of each of the remaining potential informants (this was actually a list of age and religious affiliation as the place of education implies religious affiliation in the Blood community). The third list located the informants on the basis of place of residence within the Reserve.

684
681
175

> were refused the comfort of entering Sun's lodge and making offerings to Those Above. Daily from lodge to lodge they begged for work and food and the privilege of sleeping near the doorway. None liked to look at them, so closely did their faces resemble the face of a human skull.[55]

Facial mutilation is a harsh penalty for adultery. When it is accompanied by ostracism from the community and denial of religious rights, it is brutal. Yet, it appears from Schultz that such treatment for shaming one's husband was not uncommon, and according to the illustrations in Blackfeet and Buffalo (pp. 352-353), It-si-yi-niki, the last of these cut-nosed women, died as recently as 1930. This is a definite statement of the relationship between goodness, success, and appearance. There are, however, other ways of manifesting goodness beyond the avoidance of beatings or brutality.

575
175
574

> In the evening I was invited to a feast given by Big Lake. Rising Wolf, was also a guest along with a number of other staid and sober men. Young men seldom feasted and smoked with their elders, and in the camp there were many coteries, or social sets, just as we find them in any civilized community, with the exception that there was no jealousy or rivalry between them; no one felt that its members were in any way better than the members of another set.[56]

[561]
[888]

Equalitarian social sets associated with generous feasting were typical of the age-graded Blackfoot society of this period. Although rank and decision-making power did reside in the hands of the older and spiritually more powerful men, to some degree this was primarily a function of age and chance.

000 and chance. But there was only limited jealousy and compe-
575 tition between social sets, whereas the various age-grades
561 [574] were as groups deemed rivals. Obviously institutionalized
generosity and hospitality were important during this
period.

> 554 175 He came singing, waving his rifle; he halted and said: "What happiness, this running and killing buffalo. I killed eight. How many, you?"
>
> "Five. We have killed too many; the meat of four will be a big load for our wagon. The rest will be wasted. I take shame for us," I said.
>
> "Not so. We should have killed more. I forgot to tell you that I told some of our people camped back of your tradehouse to trail us and we would give them of our kills. They will be here. We should have killed more."
>
> This made me feel better. As we were butchering one of my kills, our teamster came and got busy, and a little later a number of Eagle Head's Blackfoot friends and relatives arrived, men and women with pack horses and travois horses, fell to work--happily chattering and singing as they plied their knives. They were all old men and women, some of them widows, and sincere in their praise of us for giving them of our kills.[57]

Here we find praise associated with sharing one's bounty,
and converseely shame was the result of waste. Recognition
was related to economic security and to generosity, and, of
course, such success in hunting as in anything else comes
782 from skill, experience, and some diligence. Schultz also
175 notes that generosity was also associated with worship,

> . . . Nat-ah'-ki said: "How good was the Sun to keep us unharmed through this great danger." I am sure she voiced the sentiments of all. The next day I noticed that the trees and high bushes bordering the river were bright with the people's offerings or sacrifices to their god. They always gave of their best, their choicest and most prized ornaments and finery.[58]